UP NORTH: EUROPEAN CERAMICS AND TOBACCO PIPES AT THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY CONTACT PERIOD INUIT WINTER VILLAGE SITE OF KONGU (IgCv-7), NACHVAK FIORD, NORTHERN LABRADOR

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Up North: European Ceramics and Tobacco Pipes at the Nineteenth-Century Contact Period Inuit Winter Village Site of Kongu (IgCv-7), Nachvak Fiord, Northern Labrador

by

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Abstract

This thesis considers the European ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages from the nineteenth-century Inuit winter village site of Kongu (IgCv-7) on Nachvak Fiord in northern Labrador. Though the inhabitants of Kongu resided in a remote northern community, they were active participants in the northern trade networks during the contact period. Through analysis and interpretation of the ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages from Kongu, and application of a post-colonial theoretical framework, this thesis seeks to investigate the effects of European contact on traditional northern Inuit communities.

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~Dedicated to the memory of my father and mother~

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations for ceramic inventory

ANB	Annular Banded
ANBCA	Annular Banded/Cabled
ANCAMA	Annular Cabled/Marbled
ANCA	Annular Cabled
ANMA	Annular Marbled
CEW	Coarse Earthenware
EW	Earthenware
ENGT	Engine-turned
MOC	Mochaware
POR	Porcelain
REW	Refined Earthenware
SCSP	Scottish spongepainted
SGS	Salt glazed stoneware
SW	Stoneware
TEW	Tin glazed earthenware
TP	Transfer printed
TPFB	Transfer printed Flow Blue
YW	Yellowware

H	Hollowware

F	Flatware

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Chapter 1: Scope of thesis and outline of key concepts

...The people from Nachvak now oppose the truth the most. One man said that they knew the same things of their Torngak, which we told about Jesus...Upon this, the man cut the conversation short, by saying, laughingly, that they had heard enough of such matters, and would like to see some of our European articles.

-Br. F. Erdman, Hebron 1859 (PA Volume XXIII: 300)

This thesis concerns the ceramics and kaolin tobacco pipe assemblages from the Inuit site of Kongu (IgCv-7), Nachvak Fiord, northern Labrador. The late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century saw the Labrador Inuit move from sporadic contact with visiting Europeans to full-scale colonization through the inception of the Moravian missions that dotted the Labrador coastline. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) also entrenched permanent trading posts in northern Labrador during this period.

While various regions of Labrador were under the direct administration of the Moravian missions, Kongu and other northern Inuit settlements were unique due to their geographic remoteness from the missions and other permanent trading posts. This remoteness allowed for the inhabitants of Kongu to manage the flow of European materials into their households – thus retaining autonomy in the specific types and quantities of European goods that were incorporated at the household level. The material culture from this site is thus representative of a complex trade relationship. Further analysis of the ceramics and tobacco pipes from Kongu can indicate how the Inuit chose to incorporate European goods into their existing material culture.

The contact era in Labrador represents a period of change and experimentation in material culture and identity for the Inuit. The Kongu archaeological assemblage

documents this particular dynamic moment. As a result of contact, new rules were negotiated, novel material culture forms adopted, and identity became mutable. During contact between any cultures, rules were broken, created, modified, or further entrenched. This study specifically seeks to use the ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages as a conduit to exploring these wider changes wrought through culture contact on the Labrador coast. Analysis of the material culture provides the physical evidence of what aspects of contact meant to the Inuit of Kongu.

This study also seeks to disentangle what "European" identity meant to the Inuit. Was it a threat, curiosity, an asset or liability, or a blend of all? Inuit behaviours were modified to incorporate European behaviours such as tea drinking and smoking tobacco. What might these imports have represented in the Inuit household? Why were these particular forms of European behaviours adopted? And more importantly, do they represent change to the Inuit identity or a continuity of Inuit ways?

The material culture from Kongu is representative of a culture in contact. The scope of this study only focuses on the ceramics and tobacco pipes in the archaeological assemblage from Kongu. Two layers of evidence are available when examining the contact relationship: historic documentation and the archaeological record. The historic documentation provides the European view of the relationship; the archaeological evidence can give voice to the Inuit perspective.

The methods used to explore the specific research questions outlined above include identifying, quantifying and assessing the ceramic and kaolin tobacco pipe assemblages excavated from the site of Kongu. Ceramic analysis in this study includes: initial identification of ceramic types and forms, incorporation of contemporaneous

northern Inuit ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages, identification of decorative patterns, and application of South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Formula. Miller's (1980; 1991) Ceramic Index Values were also calculated for the assemblages. Kaolin tobacco pipe analysis includes application of Harrington's bore diameter formula (1954), as well as Binford (1962) and Hanson's (1969) modified formulas. Identifiable manufacturers were also incorporated into the study where possible.

Further analysis includes investigation of the contact relationship involving the Inuit of Kongu, the Moravians to the south, and the HBC to the west. Both the Moravians and HBC posts have left a wealth of archival resources in regards to the contact period and colonization of the Labrador coast. Through analysis of the archaeological record, something of the Inuit perspective on contact and colonialism can be discerned. What the contact period meant for the inhabitants of northern Labrador can be disentangled through an understanding of the ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages at Kongu.

Chapter 2: Project objectives

2.1 Explicit questions and test implications

This thesis seeks to review the effects of the contact relationship on a geographically remote Inuit winter settlement in northern Labrador through analysis of aspects of the material culture record – specifically ceramics and kaolin tobacco pipes. The ceramic and tobacco aspects of the material culture assemblage are used to explore the complex and entangled nature of this relationship. Specific questions this study seeks to explore include:

1. What types of ceramics and tobacco pipes were incorporated into the northern Inuit household?
2. Why might these particular types of items have been adopted?
3. Does the inclusion of European materials such as ceramics and tobacco pipes signify cultural change?
4. Can the European goods be traced to a particular trade source? (e.g., Moravian missions, Hudson's Bay Company). If so, does this relationship signify anything about contact relationships on the northern Labrador coast?

Although geographically remote, the inhabitants of Kongu incorporated a stunning and colourful array of ceramics into their everyday lives. The ceramics certainly served in the practical purpose of food service, but also reflect aesthetic interests. Fragments of a variety of tobacco pipes indicate a great fondness for tobacco smoking.

While both ceramics and tobacco pipes can be seen as foreign imports into the northern Inuit household, they can also be understood as symbols of cultural continuity. While ceramics are certainly a novel material in the Inuit household, they can represent both continuity in physical form (e.g., hollowware versus flatware) as well as in social implication (e.g., the social, communal ritual of tea). Tobacco was a novel import with no prior cultural equivalent for the Inuit. But tobacco and the act of smoking can be

regarded as representing the importance of social bonding to the Inuit. If the original trade source of these particular aspects of European materials can be discerned, we may be able to further unlock the complexity of the contact relationship in northern Labrador.

2.2 Theoretical overview

This study has been influenced heavily by contemporary application of post-colonial theory to archaeological assemblages. Recent studies of contact and colonialism from around the world suggest (e.g. Gosden 2001; Kaplan and Woollett 2000; Loring 1998; Lyons and Papadopolous 2002; Martindale and Jurakic 2004, 2006; Silliman 2005; Webster 2001) that both theoretically and archaeologically, when the indigenous view is recognized as a mosaic of perspectives, reactions, and strategies, the colonial encounter can be best understood as a complex historical dynamic in which native and colonist were both entangled.

Postcolonial theory, as conceived by Gosden (2001: 241) and others, centers on dialogues concerning the variety of cultural identities and forms produced through the colonial encounter. Central to this perspective is the use of material culture to introduce notions of cultural syncretism and hybridity/creolization directly through the archaeological record (Bhabha 1994; Gosden 2001). All of the cultures in a contact or colonial situation have the power to give vital input and exchange knowledge. Both the colonized and the colonizer are created and defined through the forces of the colonial enterprise – it is a two-way process (Gosden 2001: 247). Social theorists have explored these particular hypotheses, but they are also invaluable to archaeology for use as a framework when interpreting new forms of material culture, and new uses of material culture, produced through the contact/colonial period.

Within the field of postcolonial theory, it is useful to define certain terminological conventions. Colonialism, in its simplest sense, can be defined as the process a city or nation-state utilizes to control territory and indigenous peoples beyond its own geographical boundaries. Silliman (2005: 59) specifies that the colonial process has two defining properties, and these both relate to two incarnations of power- the power presented by the foreign colonial power, and the power inherent in the resistant population:

1) attempted domination by a colonial/settler population based on perceptions and actions of inequality, racism, oppression, labor control, economic marginalization, and dispossession
2) of resistance, acquiescence, and living through these by indigenous people who never permit these processes to become final and complete and who frequently retain or remake identities and traditions

The contact relationship, on the other hand, is one that is defined by direct or indirect contact of varied social units who do not share the same identity (Schortman and Urban 1998). The contact period generally consists of short-term encounters based on exchange – what Silliman refers to as a, "...short-duration collision of distinct cultures" (2005: 59). This distinction between contact and colonialism is critical for understanding the nature of the material culture from Kongu (IgCv-7).

The archaeological assemblage from Kongu can be interpreted as an intriguing counter to the colonial circumstances on the more southerly regions of the Labrador coast. The Inuit were directly affected by colonial enterprises such as the Moravian missions that dot the coast, but Nachvak Fiord was geographically out-of-bounds for most individuals other than the Inuit until the mid-nineteenth century. Thus the Inuit that lived at Kongu did so with the express knowledge that they would have some isolation and

primary control over the contact relationship – whether it be with the Moravians to the south, the Hudson's Bay Company to the east, or Inuit middlemen who traded their wares from various directions.

This geographic distance provides an important context for understanding culture contact and colonialism in Labrador. Geographically, Labrador can be understood to be under colonial administrative control in the more southerly regions, while it was subject to only sporadic contact to the north. While this seems like a pedantic argument involving terminology – "contact" versus "colonial" relations (for more in-depth review see Silliman 2005) archaeologically, this gives us a potentially quite complex and consequential archaeological assemblage. If the north was geographically out-of-bounds for permanent colonial enterprise, the Inuit had the distinct advantage of negotiating the contact relationship on their own terms. European culture was not simply adopted wholesale. The Inuit imported very particular aspects of European culture into their traditional households – at their own discretion. The inhabitants of Kongu enjoyed a significant degree of control over the forms of material culture imported into their community (see also Loring 1998).

Material culture studies also heavily influence the theoretical backdrop of this research (Appadurai 1986; Carroll 1999; Hodder and Hutson 2003; Meskell 2005; Miller 1987; Rausing 1998; Silliman 2005). According to Silliman (2005), in addition to gleaning important information on the particular use and functional characteristics of objects, material culture analysis incorporates social meaning and status. Material culture is significant for archaeologists; not only is it the foundation of our discipline, it is also an active participant in constituting culture – both past and present (Silliman 2005). Material

culture is complex due to the fact that it may represent not only iconic elements of cultural identity (e.g. "English" or "European", "native" or "Inuit") but can also simultaneously represent a medium that contests that very essentialism.

For Silliman (2005), material culture represents not only simple, physical forms or objects, but also can be defined through its use and negotiated meaning – what Appadurai (1986) refers to as *the social life of things*. For Miller (1987) this means that the artefact exists on a variety of interpretive levels. The first level considers the object as a concrete, physical form only independent of projected meaning. The artefact can also be a bridge between the mental and physical worlds – between subjective and objective, conscious and unconscious. Miller (1987) also contends that using an artefact or object as a symbol does not detract from its significance as a tool or worked material. All levels of interpretation can co-exist in harmony.

According to Rausing (1998: 190), material objects do not fall into invariant classifications; they are subject to (re)contextualization and appropriation within particular historic trajectories and ideologies. This means that objects have no essentialized meaning; hence global economies do not control the meaning of things. Rausing (1998) views the material object with preference of context, or multi-scalar meaning over essentialism. While archaeologists can use artefacts in contextual study, material culture analysis allows for integration of both contextual and interpretive theoretical frameworks (Meskell 2005). This not only allows the archaeologist to interpret artefacts in relation to particular site or culture, it also allows for variety of theoretical frameworks to come into play. In the case of contact, this allows for greater flexibility in interpreting the potential hybrid nature of material culture and artefacts.

This amalgamation of archaeological and material culture studies potentially creates a more complex, composite and multi-scalar level of meaning. Not only do we have a subset of artefacts and material objects, we also have the process of agency and active agents that shape the meaning of that particular material culture or artefact. Thus the concept of agency is also integral to this study. This thesis concerns European ceramics and tobacco pipes found on an Inuit site. These can be identified and quantified, but they can also be understood in regard to what these items mean to each culture – both European and Inuit. Ceramics and tobacco pipes may have signified very different things to either, or have promoted the same ideals. The contact relationship and exchange of material culture provides us with the potential for multiple levels of interpretation. It is the agency of each group entwined in the contact relationship that allows for such diverse and complex interpretation of material culture.

Archaeology is largely the study of past material culture; social agents actively create this material culture. Thus the act of agency and material culture are inextricably linked. As people define and create themselves as social beings, they acquire, consume and exchange commodities to sustain and reproduce social relationships – thus objects or commodities are imbued with value (Carroll 1999). To Hodder and Hutson (2003: 6-7), material culture is not merely a passive reflection of wider society; it creates society through particular acts perpetrated by social agents. Material culture exists within a social framework of concepts, values and beliefs. It can signify particular meanings, and individuals or groups of individuals can manipulate and affect these meanings through manipulation of the objects themselves. For Miller (1987: 108) this means that individuals can react in varied ways to newly introduced material cultural forms: they can

accept the object and its corresponding attributes, accept it and ignore the corresponding attributes, or lastly accept the object and some of the attributes and create new ones – thus creating the hybrid form.

It is with Miller (1987) in mind that Bourdieu's (1990; 2005) notion of the *doxa* is also introduced as an interpretive framework for this study. For Bourdieu (1990: 68), the *doxa* represents common or practical sense – unconscious beliefs and values instilled and followed in ones lifetime. Ceramics and tobacco pipes can represent different things to different cultures. For the European or English consumer, they represent an orthodox and established symbol of civilized society. But for the Inuit, they may be interpreted in a vastly different, or heterodoxic, fashion. It is the mingling of agency and *doxa* that makes it a valuable interpretive framework for this study.

The agents involved in creating the social sphere are competent creators and manipulators of their social/symbolic world – and individual agents, or groups of agents, may see fit to re-interpret and re-order their social/symbolic order (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 31). For Dobres and Robb (2000: 8), defining agency as a concept includes consideration of these four general principles:

1. the material conditions of social life, simultaneously constraining and enabling influence of social, symbolic and material structures and institutions, habituations and beliefs
2. motivations and actions of agents
3. the dialectic of structure and agency
4. agency as socially significant quality of action, rather than being reducible to merely action itself

But Dobres and Robb (2000) are also quick to remark that agency, as a concept is multi-scalar, labile, contradictory, and eclectic; presenting us with a potentially intricate and tricky framework for interpretation.

When agents invest an object with meaning, or (re)interpret and (re)contextualize an object, they are generating what Thomas (1991, 2000) refers to as an "entangled" object. For Thomas, the artefact is not merely an object; it is powerful, capable and potentially mutable in the act of recontextualization. Objects should never be understood to embody "...pure or original templates or intentions" (Thomas 1991: 28). While some would argue that this interpretation of objects is simply a matter of degree, such exploration of deeper potential meaning and material culture is integral to this type of study.

Objects and artefacts that are appropriated from contact or colonial encounters often represent more challenging representations than mere symbols of acculturation; they can in fact represent subversive mimicry and direct challenges to westernization. Innovative trans-cultural artefacts can in fact represent the disruption of normative cultural boundaries (Thomas 2000: 199). The appropriation of other cultural objects does not invariably signify acculturation or the death of a culture. Entangled objects and meanings represent the emergence of hybrid cultural forms.

For Homi Bhabha (1994), hybrid forms reflect both subversions and reformulations of the dominant colonial culture, as well as colonial versions and reproductions of indigenous features. Hybrid identity in this sense entails a certain freedom, a fluidity of identity. More significantly, this new form or emergent identity is endemic to both the colonized and the colonizer. Cultural identity works as though it

were a permeable membrane – a two-way transference of meaning and cultural forms. Each group – whether they be Inuit, Moravian, or HBC traders – have the capability to either navigate or contest the relationship within their own culturally appropriate and specified terms.

With respect to ceramic and kaolin tobacco pipe assemblages from Kongu, there is a dataset that gives us information on: form; function; dating of the site through typological seriation; possible trade relationships; and possible status differentiation between households. But it is not only an assemblage of historic material. We also have a dataset that comes from a very isolated, contact relationship.

The archaeological record provides a distinct narrative of objects of European manufacture that were incorporated into northern Inuit households. Ceramics and tobacco pipes, tea and smoking practices, were adopted by the Inuit of Kongu for very particular reasons. It represents an assemblage in which traditional Inuit forms occur in novel material (e.g., ceramic hollowwares vs. wood or skin hollowwares) and the perpetuation of core Inuit social behaviours (tea drinking and tobacco smoking as communal activities). The incorporation of ceramics and tobacco pipes does not necessarily indicate acculturation, or a loss of "Inuitness"; it implies the emergence of new, hybrid practices of consumption and social performance that may have broader ramifications.

Chapter 3: Background

This chapter provides an overview of Labrador and its history and inhabitants. It covers the following topics:

3.1 The Labrador region: geography and climate
3.2 Prehistoric colonization of the region
3.3 Introduction of the Inuit and their lifeways
3.4 Historic period contact and colonization of Labrador
3.5 A brief history of Neoeskimo archaeological research in the Labrador region

This provides a backdrop to the principal period of contact, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when Inuit, Moravian missionaries and HBC traders were the key players on the northern Labrador coast.

3.1 The Labrador region: geography and climate

The region of Labrador is designated physiographically as the eastern portion of the Canadian Shield and thus presents a rugged and rocky coast with numerous islands and steep mountains, indented with long fiords and waterways. The interior region consists mostly of rocky plateau. Embracing 1 619 000 km², the region lies between roughly 57° 30' and 60° 30' N latitude (Kaplan 1983: 58). Labrador is also home to mountain ranges that reach higher as one progresses further north – roughly 500 m high near Nain, and up to 1800+ m in the Torngat mountain range (where Kongu is located) of northern Labrador (Taylor 1974: 21). In contrast to the mountainous northern coastline, the inland northern region is considered flat, barren and rocky, with scrub trees and ground-hugging vegetation such as berry bushes and grasses, and abundant standing water – perfect for grazing seasonal caribou.

Vegetation becomes more lush and abundant as one moves south down the coast of Labrador (Taylor 1974). The temperature and climate are also varied depending upon

the geographic locale. According to Environment Canada (2006), average Labrador winter temperatures range from -10°C to -15°C in January with occasional fluctuations due to warm Atlantic air. Summer sees average temperatures of 8°C to 15°C in July due to the effects of the Labrador current. These fluctuations in temperature vary with the prevailing winds, air and sea currents, as well as the presence of pack ice and icebergs in the region (Environment Canada 2006).

The Neoeskimo occupation of the Labrador coast co-incided with the Neo-Boreal period of climate change (1550-1850). During this period, otherwise referred to as the "Little Ice Age", great variation in climate occurred. D'Arrigo et al. (2003) used dendrochronology to further study this period of Labrador climate change, and the results showed great fluctuations in temperature. A pattern of cooling and warming emerged. The seventeenth and early eighteenth century saw cooling trends, while the mid to late eighteenth saw temperatures increase. The early nineteenth century saw a drastic cooling period and included the coldest summer recorded in 1816-1817. This cooling was directly caused by a volcanic eruption (D'Arrigo et al. 2003: 224). The mid-nineteenth century again experienced a warming rebound.

This period of drastic climate fluctuation has been interpreted as having great influence on later Inuit subsistence and settlement patterns (Brice-Bennett 1981; D'Arrigo et al. 2003). All of these authors interpret the climate change as directly affecting the Inuit seasonal round in the nineteenth century. Fluctuations in sea ice conditions radically affected the Inuit ability to hunt large sea mammals. Climate change has also been interpreted as one of the possible reasons for the Inuit adoption of a mixed economy in the nineteenth century. Inuit diet likely shifted focus from large marine mammals to

caribou and fish (Kaplan 1983). A more mixed economy also incorporated a variety of traditional, European-favoured and introduced foods and materials (Brice-Bennett 1981: 472).

Geographically, Nachvak Fiord is nestled within the Torngat mountain range. Branching into two arms in the western part of the fiord, rivers and brooks feed the fiord from the more interior regions. The site of archaeological interest for this study is the contact era site of Kongu (IgCv-7) located at bearing N 59° 03' 52" W 63° 38' 01". As part of the wider, on-going Nachvak Archaeology Project, Whitridge is also currently investigating the Thule winter site of Nachvak Village (IgCx-3) nestled on a terrace in the inner fiord at N 59° 04' 16" W 63° 53' 24" (Whitridge 2004).

Nachvak Fiord provided a wealth of marine and terrestrial mammals as well as a *polynia* – an opening in the ice at the junction of Tallek and Tasiuyak Arms (across from the Thule site of IgCx-3). This would have allowed for year-round access to sea mammals and provided a rich hunting ground. Bowhead whales were known to frequent the region, as did walrus, bearded, harp and ringed seals, polar bears, and caribou (Kaplan 1983: 136; Taylor 1974). Thus the region provided a more than adequate supply of fresh and seasonal provisions for its Thule and Inuit inhabitants.

3.2 Prehistoric colonization of the region

The Inuit were not the only inhabitants to colonize the region of Labrador and exploit its resources. While the origin of the Labrador Inuit can be found in the Thule migration into the Central Arctic region during the twelfth century (the eastern-migrating ancestors of the Birnirk culture of Alaska), Labrador was also colonized by a variety of

cultures over the millennia. The following provides a simplified and abbreviated version of culture chronology and colonization of the Labrador region.

The first inhabitants of the region to be discerned in the archaeological record were seen in the far south of Labrador – in the Strait of Belle Isle region. This region was home to a group referred to as the Maritime Archaic (8000-3500 BP). Characteristically, their toolkit consisted of stemmed points, ground stone, and an elaborate bone and antler industry and they had a rich funerary tradition. Maritime Archaic archaeological sites have been discerned further north up the Labrador coast as well - in the regions of Saglek and Ramah Bay - and Fitzhugh posits that they may have colonized as far as Killinek (Fitzhugh 1977).

Next to colonize the Labrador region were members of the Paleoeskimo, Predorset culture. Dating to roughly 3800-3000 BP, this culture is archaeologically defined primarily through lithic tools of chert, quartz and crystal, and stone features – both houses and seasonal tent rings - in the area between Saglek and Nain (Fitzhugh 1977; Maxwell 1984). In the more southerly regions of Labrador, and toward the interior, the Intermediate Period Indian groups inhabited the region contemporaneously, and must have made sporadic contact with the Predorset groups of the more northerly regions. The Groswater Dorset group (2700-2200 BP) developed out of the Predorset occupation, but with stylistic differences in tool typology, house and settlement pattern.

The Dorset were the final occupants of the Labrador region prior to the influx of Neoeskimo Thule/Inuit groups. According to Fitzhugh (1977), from roughly 2400-900 BP, the Dorset resided in semi-subterranean winter houses and utilized soapstone and nephrite, as well as honing a complex microblade technology. The Late Dorset peoples

shared the Labrador region with Point Revenge groups – native Algonquian speakers who moved from inland sites to the coast in a seasonal round during roughly 800-1500 AD (Fitzhugh 1988). The Paleoeskimo occupation of the coast ceased with the immigration of the Neoeskimo Thule peoples.

The Neoeskimo occupation of the Labrador region does not occur until roughly the late fifteenth century. The Thule ancestors of the Inuit likely colonized the Labrador region via the Resolution and Button Islands and eastern Baffin Island. During this period of colonization, it has been surmised that the climate was deteriorating due to the effects of the Little Ice Age (1400-1900), and the Thule may have migrated to the more productive coastal regions of Labrador in order to exploit seasonal resources (Kaplan 1983; Whitridge 2004).

The reader should be apprised that the term "Neoeskimo" reflects both the Thule and Inuit occupation of the Labrador region. The Inuit and their Thule ancestors are one and the same – their change in name is nothing more than a terminological convention, which distinguishes the possibly prehistoric Thule from the contact period Inuit (Whitridge personal communication 2005).

Nachvak Fiord has produced archaeological evidence of both Paleoeskimo and Neoeskimo habitation. The Inuit inhabited sites on the fiord for centuries – from roughly the fifteenth up to the late nineteenth century. There are over thirty sites of both Paleoeskimo and Neoeskimo origin that dot the fiord and its various arms (Whitridge 2004).

3.3 Introduction of the Inuit and their lifeways

This section serves as a very general and broad overview of the Labrador Inuit and their lifeways. While it somewhat essentializes the Inuit and their culture, it provides a general orientation that is a useful starting point. This description mainly relies on reconstructions of eighteenth-century Inuit culture provided by the Moravian missionaries during the early period of contact. While Inuit society was already in the midst of transformation during this period, it is still useful as a template for understanding Labrador Inuit culture prior to sustained colonization by Europeans.

Socially, Inuit were organized into extended family units. According to Taylor (1974: 67), eighteenth-century Inuit families comprised of joint families (two spouses) or stem families (mother, mother-in-law or widowed sister and kin). There was also evidence of polygyny and polyandry within the Inuit household. Polygyny was of great economic advantage and allowed the head of the household to control an expanded pool of labour. Polyandry was also occasionally practiced. Male household leads provided social and group leadership and households were ranked according to social order (Taylor 1974). The spiritual leadership rested with several individuals in a community, some of who might be regarded as shaman – or *angakkuq* – and these individuals were well-respected and accorded authority due to their great spiritual power. When engaged in co-operative hunting, groups were ranked according to *umiak* (large skin boat) crews and the harpooners probably enjoyed a higher social status as the onus was on them to collectively distribute the spoils of the hunt (Taylor 1974).

There was a division of labour by gender; but the respective tasks were equally important in nature and symbiotic. Inuit social organization revolved around prominent

males in the community. These respected men worked in the capacity of advisors. Men often obtained the most game, hunting and capturing a variety of prey. Males were also the providers of many elements of material culture such as tools, utensils and objects of a variety of materials (Giffen 1930). But for the hunter to be successful, he had to be properly attired - and this was the domain of the women.

Women were predominantly associated with household activities. George Cartwright in the late eighteenth century observed the Inuit women of southern Labrador as communally raising children, tending to the kitchen, oil lamps and cooking fires, dressing skins, sewing boots and jackets, and processing fish (Cartwright 2003[1792]: 90-91). While the women predominantly tended the home, they were also incorporated into the hunt when necessary. Women often rowed the *umiak* when the chase for prey was on and assisted in butchering and transporting the carcass, and they often helped hunt caribou by driving them towards the hunters waiting to ambush them (Giffen 1930).

The Inuit of Labrador utilized marine mammals as their primary subsistence resource. Whales, walrus, fish and seals were the predominant dietary provisions, augmented with shellfish when available. Terrestrial mammals such as polar bear, caribou, and small fowl and vegetation such as berries, as seasonally available, rounded out the mix (Cabak and Loring 2000: 24). The Inuit had a specialized toolkit of various harpoons, lances, arrows, and the *kavikak* (three-pronged spear) with which to hunt various mammals and fish (Taylor 1974; see also Bird 1945 for in-depth descriptions). The Inuit hunt was highly ritualized in nature and generally sexually segregated. Great pains were taken to follow ritual proscriptions in regards to hunting methods (Taylor 1969).

The Inuit resided in seasonally appropriate structures. Winter would see more permanent structures such as semi-subterranean sod houses with whalebone superstructures (such as those located at Nachvak village and Kongu). These dwellings shifted in shape (e.g., single-lobed vs. bilobate), size and internal configuration over a period of centuries and eventually were reconfigured into the larger, more rectangular communal house form of the eighteenth century. The average number of occupants in the winter sod house during the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century - during the communal house phase in which Kongu falls - was roughly 20 individuals (Taylor 1974). Some of the theories considered for architectural changes in houseform consider changes in the importance of gender roles and social relations, reactions to climate change and differential access to goods during the contact period (for more detailed architectural and theoretical examination see Auger 1991; Bird 1945; Kaplan 1988; Richling 1993; Schledermann 1971,1976; Whitridge 2004).

Also present in the landscape are a variety of other architectural features. The summer migration inland to hunt terrestrial mammals and gather vegetation would be done using the skin tent – archaeologically evidenced through stone tent rings that dot the Labrador landscape. The landscape was also dotted with caches for meat and provisions in case of lean times (Taylor 1969), as well as hunting blinds and drives to assist in the capture of terrestrial mammals. Also archaeologically visible are the rock cairns that enclosed burials.

The Inuit also possessed a sophisticated variety of transportation technology. Through the exploitation of dogs and the dogsled (*komatik*), the Inuit greatly expanded their habitation and subsistence range during the winter season. The *komatik* varied in

size but was basically a sledge pulled by anywhere from two to 28 dogs. According to Taylor (1974), 15 dogs would be an adequate number to service the average sized *komatik*. Summer travel and hunting were accomplished with skin-covered boats. The Inuit knew two variations: the small, sleek *kayak* and the larger *umiak*. The former was generally controlled by a single individual and used for hunting sea mammals, as well as caribou at inland crossings or on lakes. The larger, latter vessel was capable of hauling 20 individuals plus appropriate gear (Taylor 1974). With such sophisticated forms of transportation, the Inuit were capable of traversing much ground (and sea) and were more than capable of cultivating a large, inter-regional trade and communication network.

3.4 Historic period contact and colonization of Labrador

Although the Labrador region had been home to various groups before the Thule arrived, historic period European colonial interest in the region did not come to fruition until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Labrador witnessed intermittent visits from foreign interests, but permanent settlement in the more northern regions came only in the form of hardy traders and missionaries during the eighteenth century.

The Moravian missionaries established their first mission on the Labrador coast in 1771, but the Inuit of the region had already had contact with a variety of Europeans for some 250 years (Cabak and Loring 2000: 3). The Vikings may have recorded contact with the Inuit during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Their sagas told of encounters with the "skraelings" in their sleek skin boats (Enterline 2002: 22).

While arctic explorers such as Frobisher and Davis brought the Inuit into contact with Europeans in the sixteenth century, it was perhaps the whaling activities of the Basque in the southern Labrador region of the Strait of Belle Isle that first brought the

Inuit into direct and sustained contact with European outsiders. From early summer to late fall, the whalers hunted whale and rendered the blubber onshore for the European market (Fitzhugh 1988: 32). Kaplan has suggested that the whaling activities (and material culture) of the Basques may have been a prime incentive for the Inuit to relocate to more central coastal regions of Labrador – in order to raid abandoned whaling stations and trade (Kaplan 1988).

While some of the encounters with the Inuit of the region were uneventful, historic documentation from the late seventeenth century also records violent and repeated attacks by the Inuit on the southern Labrador Basque whaling stations – finally abandoned in 1702. According to Brice-Bennett (1981), the English and Newfoundland fisherman also experienced hostility from the Inuit. But whaling rebounded in the eighteenth century, and the coast of Labrador played annual host to 200-300 whalers from the American colonies alone (Bird 1945). According to Hiller (1967), Labrador was annexed to Palliser and the government of Newfoundland post 1763. Palliser attempted to re-organize the Labrador coast into a transient fishery without threat of permanent settlement of the region, but this was a difficult proposition to implement due to French interests in the region (Hiller 1967).

The more southerly region of Hamilton Inlet saw the first permanent settlement by Europeans when Courtemanche was granted the land by the governor of New France in the early years of the eighteenth century (Bird 1945). Captain George Cartwright (2003[1792]) also settled in southern Labrador in 1770 and was the first European to successfully establish a long-standing, peaceful trade relationship with the Inuit of the coast – leaving an extensive diary of his exploits.

Enterprising individuals of the eighteenth century such as the French merchant Fornel, sought to cultivate a trade relationship with the Inuit in southern Labrador. Trading iron goods, utensils and clothing for baleen and seal blubber, Fornel was somewhat successful in his endeavour, but still plagued by Inuit who would often raid European fishing stations (Brice-Bennett 1981, 2003).

It is the latter part of the eighteenth century that saw permanent European settlement of the Labrador coast in the form of the Moravian missions. Established in 1771 and spreading across the Labrador coast, the Moravian mission can be understood to fulfil both evangelical and English economic and imperialist roles. Labrador was acquired as British territory in 1763 and it was the task of the Moravian missions not only to tend to Inuit spiritual salvation, but to administer them on behalf of the British crown as well (Taylor 1984).

3.5 A brief history of Neoeskimo archaeological research in the Labrador region

Now that the reader has gleaned some general background on Labrador and successively colonizing groups, it would be wise to also review the history of archaeological research in the region. According to Kaplan (1983), professional archaeological study of the Neoeskimo occupation of the Labrador coast began in the early twentieth century with researcher William Duncan Strong (1930) who was a member of the Rawson-MacMillan Subarctic Expedition of 1927-1928. Strong explored a variety of coastal sites in northeastern Labrador between Hopedale and Nain and collected both material culture and skeletal remains. Junius Bird (1945) was also one of the first archaeologists to study the region during the 1930's. Bird's excavations included many sites in the Hopedale/Arvertok region of Labrador and his predominant focus was

on the culture chronology of prehistoric Thule material culture. Bird also intensively studied variations in semi-subterranean Thule houses and developed a chronology of house forms and internal configurations of space.

After decades of sporadic archaeological investigation, Neoeskimo archaeology in Labrador flourished again in the late twentieth century. According to Kaplan (1983), archaeology in the Labrador region was revitalized with J. Garth Taylor's survey of the regions of Okak and Nain in the mid-1960's, as well as archaeological explorations and survey initiated in the Saglek region by Tuck (1975) and Schledermann (1971). According to Whitridge (2004), it was Schledermann's work at Saglek that initially provided large Neoeskimo material culture assemblages, as well as establishing architectural parameters for Neoeskimo culture history. In the latter part of the 1970's, William Fitzhugh's survey and excavation of the Hamilton Inlet region and his later work through the Smithsonian Institution's Torngat Archaeology Project (TAP) opened the region for a variety of archaeological explorations. The TAP surveyed the northern region of Labrador from Nain to the Button islands and identified over 300+ sites of both Paleoeskimo and Neoeskimo origin (Fitzhugh 1980).

It was the Torngat Archaeology Project that initiated further inquiry into the culture-history of Neoeskimo occupation in the Labrador region. Kaplan (1980, 1983) laid the ground for studies discerning the changing subsistence strategies and settlement patterns of the Inuit – through the Thule colonization of the region to the contact period - studies that were followed by other archaeologists such as Jordan and Kaplan (1980), Auger (1991), Loring (1998), Woollett (1999), and Kaplan and Woollett (2000). The culture-history picture has been more readily discerned for the Labrador Neoeskimo, as

well as investigation of the changes wrought through contact. Considerable research has also focused on changes in Thule/Inuit architectural form (Kaplan 1988; Schledermann 1971, 1976; Richling 1993).

However, it is the work of Cabak and Loring (2000) that most influences this thesis in scope and focus. Cabak and Loring utilized ceramic analysis to investigate Inuit participation in the global economic system via their relationship with Moravian missions and European material culture. The current project regards the material culture record as a window to a complex, entangled contact relationship. Through analysis of ceramic and tobacco pipe use and consumption, we can glean information about the multifaceted relationship of the inhabitants of Nachvak Fiord to global processes, by way of their interaction with the Moravian missions and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction and identification of Kongu (IgCv-7)

Survey of the inner, middle and outer portions of Nachvak Fiord were conducted as part of Dr. Peter Whitridge's Nachvak Archaeology Project in 2003 and subsequent years. The site of Kongu (IgCv-7) was relocated during 2003 reconnaissance in the middle fiord and lies on the north shore of the fiord - 15 km from the mouth (Whitridge 2004). Figure 1 illustrates the location of Nachvak Fiord on the Labrador coastline. Figure 2 indicates archaeological sites located on the fiord itself. Both figures appear courtesy of Dr. Peter Whitridge.

Lying at a few metres above sea level, the site consists of approximately 10 Inuit sod winter houses belonging to the communal house phase of architectural construction. Houses from this phase of construction appear around the early eighteenth century, and replace the older, round or bilobate Thule-style houses. These 10 rectangular dwellings are oriented towards the fiord, and seem to be arranged around an empty, round, central area (Figure 3 – courtesy of Dr. Peter Whitridge), which may represent the foundation of an older, Thule-style house. It may also be remnants of the foundations of an eighteenth-century communal festival house (Whitridge 2006).

While the superstructures of the houses are long gone, most of the houses are in a remarkable state of preservation – some complete with stone foundations, lintels of stone and whale mandible, anterooms, and remnants of entrance tunnels. According to Taylor (1977), the site was examined by Joshua Obed, but not assigned a Borden designation. The site may also be one that appears on a mid-nineteenth-century Moravian map of the fiord – the location designated with lines and the notation of "Häusen" – German for

house – along with the word "Kongu" written perpendicular to the fiord. According to Whitridge (2006 personal communication), "Kongu" may be a term the Inuit used to denote a cleft (Wheeler 1953). Also, interestingly enough, "Kongu" may also be a phonetic spelling of "Congou" – a term used to designate a particular type of black tea (Pettigrew 2001).

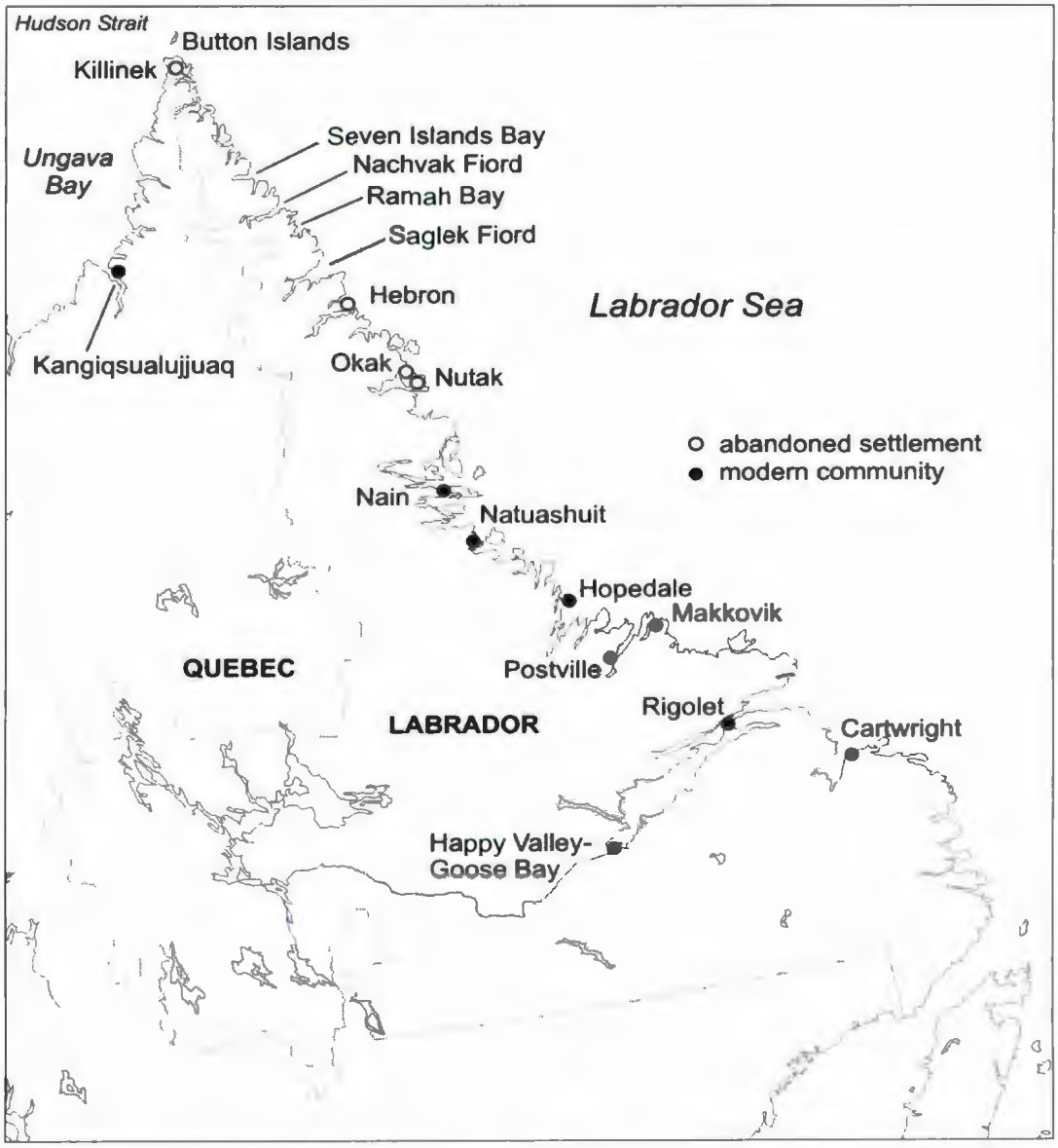


Figure 1: Map of Labrador region

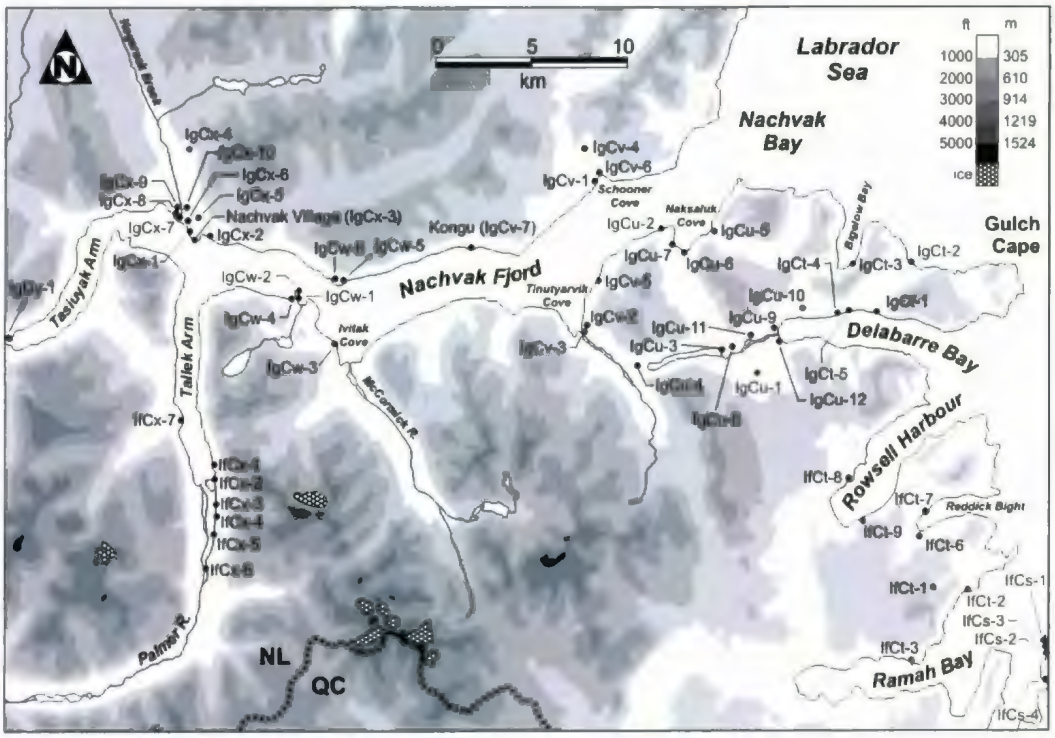


Figure 2: Map of Nachvak Fiord with site designations

Figure 3: Map of Kongu (IgCv-7) with excavation trenches and houses designated

4.2 Excavation at Kongu (IgCv-7)

Midden excavations were conducted during both the 2004 and 2005 field seasons at the site of Kongu. Middens are deposits of house refuse that are usually located directly adjacent to the entrance tunnels of Inuit sod houses (Bird 1945; Kaplan 1983; Schledermann 1971). Cabak and Loring (2000) explain that midden deposits are generally the result of women's housekeeping activities – such as food preparation, sewing, and childcare. The site contains roughly 10 semi-subterranean sod house structures, and the 2004 excavations placed three 1m x 3m test trenches amongst these dwellings. The east trench (ET) was situated to the east of House 7, the west trench (WT) to the rear of House 2, and the centre trench (CT) was situated directly between Houses 3 and 4 (Figure 3).

The 2004 excavations yielded 991 artefacts and 15% of the assemblage was classifiable as historic material. This included eight kaolin tobacco pipe fragments and 26 fragments of ceramic. The 2005 field season generated considerably more historic material. In 2004 the West Trench reached sterile soil and was back-filled. The 2004 western excavation was located between Houses 1 and 2. The 2005 excavations were initiated with two 50cm x 50cm test pits (WTST1 and WTST2) excavated to the front of the entrance tunnel and to the east of the kitchen alcove on the shore side of House 2. The second test pit proved more promising and was expanded into a 1m x 3m trench to the east of the House 2 kitchen alcove - directly in the midst of midden refuse from the kitchen. Figure 4 illustrates the stratigraphy present in the midden of the 2005 West trench shore excavation. Excavation of the centre and east trenches continued. The East

trench was expanded with the addition of two more 1m x 1m units (Units 4 and 5) off of the original 2004 3-unit trench.

The 2005 field season produced 2549 artefacts with 30% of the assemblage consisting of historic materials. This includes 358 fragments of ceramic and 231 fragments of kaolin clay tobacco pipe – all of which was excavated from the east and west trenches at the site. All materials were collected *in situ* or by screening through ¼" screen mesh. Curiously, the centre trench produced some historic material in the form of trade beads, iron and glass, but no tobacco pipes or ceramics. According to Whitridge (2006), the centre trench dates as protohistoric, or early historic, and may have hit part of a communal festival house. For the purpose of this study, the centre trench is removed from the analysis and the 2004-2005 field season collections are amalgamated into one assemblage. Thus, the ceramic and pipe assemblage reflects the midden refuse accumulated by two households – one in the east and one in the west – at IgCv-7.

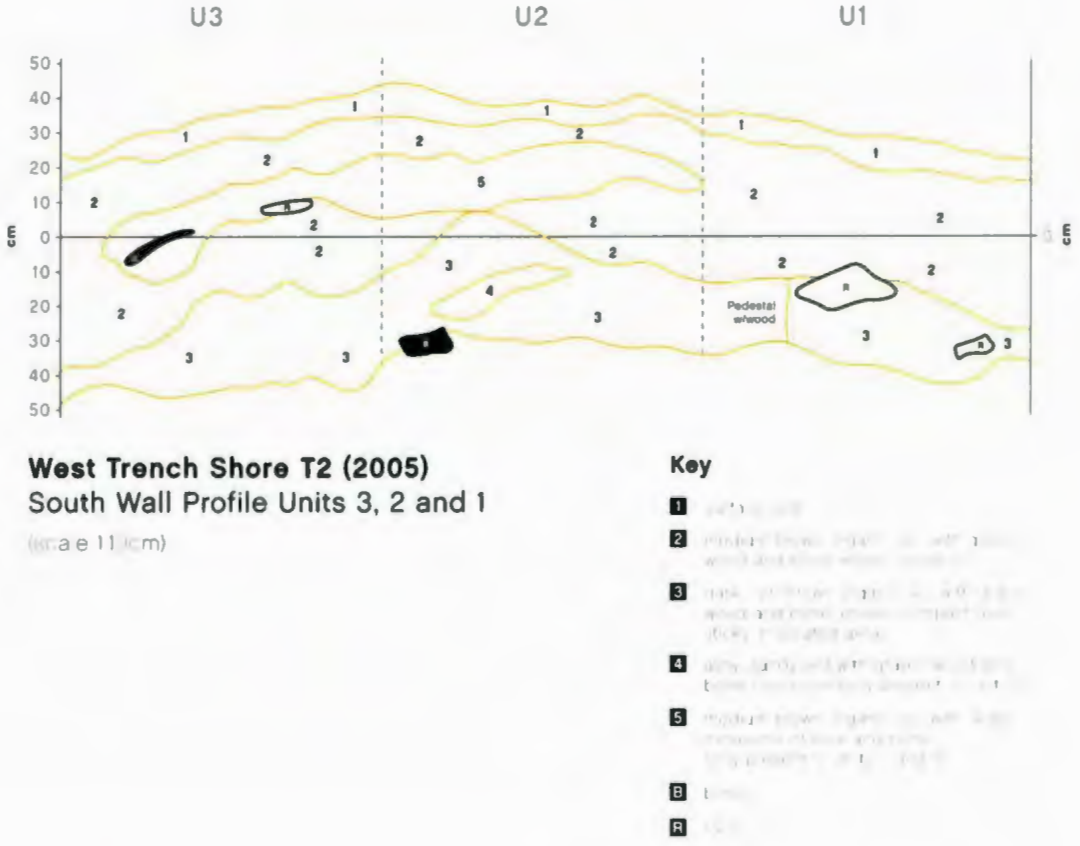


Figure 4: West Trench Shore profile (2005 excavation)

4.3 Integration of archival research – Moravian missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company

In tandem with the archaeological evidence, this project also references a variety of primary source archival material. While the archaeological material culture serves to tell the story of the Inuit inhabitants of northern Labrador and IgCv-7, the archival material presents the European vision of the Inuit and the Labrador coastal region. These historic documents also provide a glimpse of European goods imported to the Labrador coast. Primary archival data regarding the Labrador Inuit come from two main sources: the Moravian missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Moravian Church traces its history back to the *Fratres apud legem Christi* – the devout group that first ceded from the Church of Rome in the mid-fifteenth century. They become the *Unitas Fratrum* shortly thereafter (PA 1839 XV: v). By the late fifteenth century, due to persecution, the *Unitas Fratrum* sent emissaries to various European countries in search of safe haven and like-minded Christians, but it is not until the mid-sixteenth century that they found allies in the form of Protestant and Lutheran reformers. The congregation again suffered strife and was torn asunder in the late sixteenth century. They were reunited through the leadership of Count Zizendorf in the eighteenth century with Herrnhut, Germany, as their religious centre (PA 1846 XVIII: preface).

A brief note concerning referencing of Moravian materials is applicable here. The Periodical Accounts are referred to as "PA" and referenced in this order: (PA date volume: page). They were accessed at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University, St. John's, NL.

London housed members of the Moravian church in the form of the "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel", a group aligned with local Protestant evangelicals, and it was these individuals who petition the British government for land grants of 100 000 acres in order to establish missions in Labrador (Hutton 1922). The British acceded to this request, and, in effect, handed administrative rule of a significant proportion of Labrador Inuit over to the missionaries.

The Moravian-Labrador connection was forged in 1769 during the Brethren's General Synod. After successfully establishing missions in Greenland, the Moravians turned their eyes to Labrador, and sent out an expedition team in 1752. Nisbet Harbour

was the site of their residence, but the expedition ended disastrously with the murder of several of the missionaries. Brice-Bennett (1981) hypothesizes that the attack occurred due to the mission leader – Brother (Br.) Ehrhardt's – limited understanding of the Inuit and their language and custom. The missionaries' decision to combine the identity of religious instructor with trader also may have played a role in the Inuit attack. By not distinguishing themselves from the other Europeans, the Inuit merely categorized Moravians as traders and treated them accordingly (Brice-Bennett 1981). Moravian colonization of Labrador was abandoned until the arrival of Jens Haven – a former missionary to Greenland – in 1764 (Cranz 1820). Haven and thirteen others established the first permanent mission of Nain in 1771.

Moravian trade stores were established at the missions to offer incentive to the Inuit to visit, as well as to prevent them from wandering south and trading with disreputable characters (as defined by the missionaries). The trade stores were initially run as entities independent of the missions, yet were still associated with the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. Due to administrative problems, the stores and the missions were fully combined in 1797 (PA 1841 XVI: 7). The missions served to segregate the Inuit from those deemed undesirable by Moravian standards, to protect imperial interests to the south, as well as offering religious salvation.

The present study only incorporates historic material from four stations that were operational during the probable occupation of the site of IgCv-7: Nain 1771, Okak 1776, Hopedale 1782 and Hebron 1830. The bulk of the Moravian historic material comes from the Periodical Accounts – the self-described "...plain, unvarnished statements..." of the Moravian brotherhood's missionary work (PA 1853 XXI: preface). The Periodical

Accounts were the English-translated equivalent of the German *Missions Blatt.* Both series provided the European public with regular accounts of the Moravian missions abroad as well as providing a venue to solicit donations.

Review of the Periodical Accounts is integral to understanding the missionaries' interactions with the Inuit. They provide us with a regular account of mission occurrences, conversions and daily trials and triumphs. They also offer an accurate account of changes to climate, subsistence strategies, and famine on the coast. More importantly, the Periodical Accounts give documentation of social and cultural changes imposed on the Inuit residing permanently at the stations. It is through the Periodical Accounts that we also see documentation reflecting the Moravian relationship to those Inuit who reside out of bounds of mission stations. Inuit residing to the north and in regions such as Nachvak exist in a sporadic contact relationship. The Periodical Accounts provide us with historic evidence of the Moravian interaction with these groups as well – and the differences between the "heathen" Inuit from the north and their missionized brethren. Appendix 5 provides a selection of references from the Moravian Periodical Accounts.

According to the Periodical Accounts, the Inuit of northern Labrador made regular trips to the Okak and Hopedale stations once they were operational in the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But by 1841, the four missions had amassed a population of 1075 with only 384 baptized communicants (PA 1841 XVI: 10).
Much to the consternation of the Moravians, the northern Inuit seemed to enjoy their regular visits to the missions, requesting tobacco, pipes, and other trade goods (PA 1836 XIV: 16), but clearly evaded permanent settlement and conversion. Hebron often ebbed

and surged in popularity due to astute consumerism from the northern Inuit. According to Brice-Bennett (1981: 335-336), northern Inuit would visit the station more often if the mission stores provided better prices than the rival HBC post. The northern Inuit made most frequent contact with the Hebron station in the mid-nineteenth century – from regions such as George River, Ungava Bay, Saglek, Komaktorvik and Nachvak (PA XI-XXIII). Hebron managed some conversions from these regions, possibly due to famine on the coast, but the Periodical Accounts still reflect the ongoing frustration of the missionaries to make permanent and lasting conversions. Families from the Nachvak region figure in these documents, and often visit the Hebron station in the 1840's seeking trade goods (PA XV-XIX) but again, strongly resisted permanent conversion.

Other Moravian documentary sources consulted for this study are copies of original documents housed in the Moravian Church House located in Pennsylvania. The series #511 microfilm copies were accessed through the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University. Spanning almost 200 years, these 52 reels contain, alternately in German and English, trade missives, personal documents and diaries of the Moravian missionaries stationed at various Labrador posts. These particular documents are referenced in regards to (microfilm reel: page).

The records kept by the Hudson's Bay Company provided another source of archival material for this study. Individuals such as Cartier had opened up the fur trade in northern North America for the French, but it was enterprising actions by *coureurs de bois* des Groseilliers and Radisson that lead to the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company. Des Groseilliers and Radisson refused to share profits with the French government and in turn were given financial support by Charles II of England in 1665.

The King's cousin, Prince Rupert, took formal control of the fur trade in northern Canada in 1667 (Hudson's Bay House 1934: 3-4). By the late seventeenth century, through a charter enacted by Charles II, the HBC came into existence with possession of monopoly rights to the land and trade found within the Hudson's Bay region and all of the tributaries draining into it.

Skirmishes continued with rival organizations such as the Northwest Company – established in 1784 as an amalgamation of nine varied fur trading interests – but the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the Northwest Company in 1821 (Hudson's Bay House 1934: 18). It was only the explorations of the region by the Moravian missionaries that finally drew the company to establish permanent settlements in the northeastern region of Canada (Cooke 1969).

The Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA), a division of the Archives of Manitoba, contains the original post diaries and correspondence. Nachvak Fiord itself held an HBC post (operational 1868-1906), but these records make no explicit mention of settlement within the general region of Kongu (IgCv-7), suggesting this post was operational after the major period of occupation of Kongu. Thus the Nachvak post journals were excluded from consultation. For the purposes of this study, microfilmed copies of the Fort Chimo (operational 1831-1843, 1866 -) and Fort George (a.k.a. Big River; operational intermittently through the nineteenth century) diaries were consulted. Both posts were located in the Ungava Bay region. The HBCA primary source material is referenced as such: (HBCA microfilm reel number: individual section and page number if applicable).

Nicol Findlayson and Erland Erlandson established Fort Chimo, named after an Inuit term meaning "to barter", on the east bank of the Koksoak River. Fort George was located on the northern shore of Big River and was intermittently abandoned due to a lack of economic viability (HBCA Post Information Sheets 2006). Both the Fort Chimo and Fort George/Big River journals and diaries are integral to understanding general impressions of the Inuit by the HBC traders – a compelling counterpoint to the Moravians view. As well, these archives present us with microfilmed copies of the actual account books detailing trading goods and transactions. These are integral for tracking potential trade items available at the HBC posts and specific inventories for goods.

It is the post diaries, journals and account books that best reflect the HBC trader's relationship to the Inuit. The Inuit were jealously guarded customers of the HBC, and the rivalry between the posts and the Moravians to the east is evident in the diary entries. The HBC postmasters at Fort Chimo often sent out parties of Inuit affiliated with the post to engage with the local Inuit, who were used to interacting with Moravians from the Okak station, and encourage them to stay within reach of the post and trade with them exclusively (HBCA 1M21: B.38/a/1 p. 28). Brice-Bennett (1981: 310) asserts a lack of interest in religious conversion at the Moravian missions due to the operation of an HBC trade post in the Ungava Bay region established in the 1830's. The northern Inuit were free to barter and buy goods for better credit from the HBC without the added pressure of sermonizing.

The Hudson's Bay traders often genuinely expressed affection towards the Inuit, and they are often referred to as "eloquent" in the journals. Findlayson describes them as "…honest…inoffensive…great sensualists…" (HBCA 1M21: B.38/b/2). The feeling was

mutual; during the 1830's, the Inuit trading at the Fort Chimo post were so impressed with the comportment of the postmaster that they promised never to trade with the missionaries again (1M21 B.38/a/1).

This study also incorporates previous ethnohistoric interpretations of the Labrador contact period. Individuals such as Brice-Bennett (1977, 1981, 2003) Hiller (1967), Kleivan (1966), Richling (1978), and Taylor (1969, 1974, 1984), shed light on the complex relationship between the Inuit and the Moravians and other European settlers in the Labrador region. The contact and colonial period in Labrador was a time of great change and social upheaval. These authors have set out the chronology of culture contact and change for the Labrador coast.

Life for the Inuit at the mission stations was quite a contrast from traditional Inuit ways. New technologies such as the gun and fishing net, new European foodstuffs, a market economy, and social and religious reconfiguration all played a part in shifting Inuit society (Brice-Bennett 1981; Hiller 1967; Kleivan 1966; Richling 1978). These changes also affected the more northern, non-missionized groups, but to a different degree. Missionization widened the social divide between the colonized Inuit and their more northern Inuit relations. Trade networks to the north were still viable through the period of southern colonization, and the north still had regular access to a variety of European trade goods. Some of the items moving north included ceramics and tobacco pipes.

4.4 Ceramic analysis

The West Trench Shore, Unit 3 and the East Trench, Unit 5 excavations of 2005 produced the bulk of the ceramic assemblage included in this analysis. The 2004 excavations produced only a negligible amount of ceramics – 26 fragments. Those ceramics are included with the 2005 assemblage, as they were collected from related excavations in both the eastern and western portions of the site. Appendix 1 provides the reader with specific catalogue information about the ceramic assemblage from IgCv-7. For specific information on ceramic distributions by unit and level, the reader can refer to Figures 5 through 8. Figures 5 and 7 amalgamate all depth layers of each unit into summary ceramic distribution maps for the east and west shore trenches respectively. Figures 6 and 8 provide layer distributions and only include those artefacts that refer to recorded depth-below-datum information.

The first step of any ceramic analysis is the assignment of specimens to categories of ceramic wares or decorative types. Ceramic fragments were organized according to particular ware, decorative type and form. This methodology also provides a chronological typology of the ceramics present at the site of Kongu considering varied ceramic types have specific production date ranges. The stratigraphy at the site did not reflect the adoption of ceramic wares as they developed technologically (i.e., earlier coarse earthenwares → stonewares → more recent refined earthenwares).

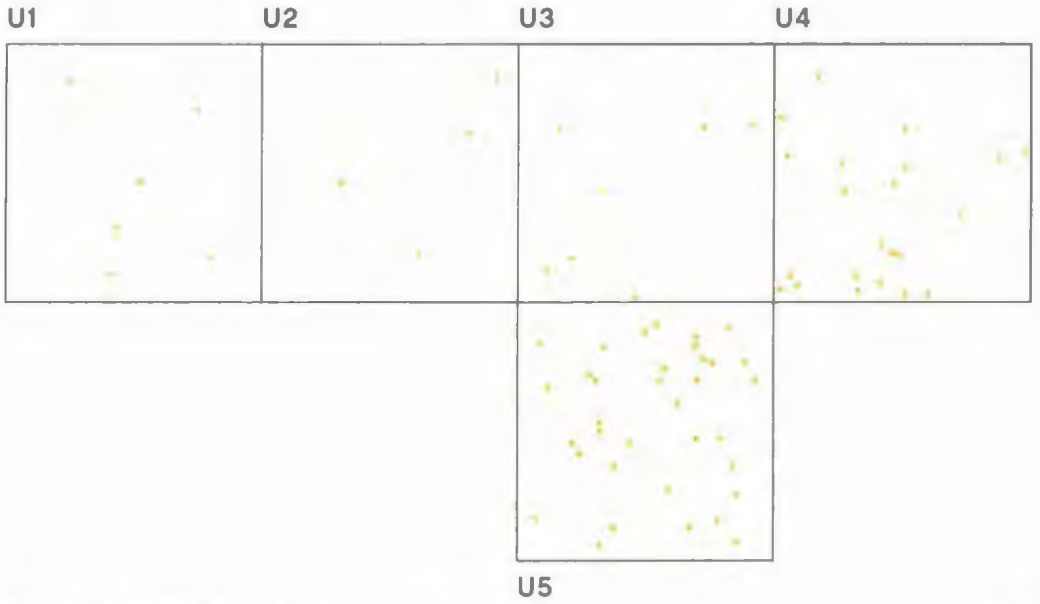


Figure 5: Ceramic distributions by unit for East Trench

East Trench 2004/2005 Ceramic Distributions by Vertical Excavation Layer

	U1	U2	U3	U4	U5*
SS		1			4
2A	3	3	2	24	8
2B	1		1	12	4
2C				2	15
2D					13
2E			1		
3A			2		
3B				1	
TOTALS	**4**	**4**	**6**	**39**	**44**

GRAND TOTAL (ALL UNITS COMBINED) 97

*Unit 5 is attached to south of Unit 3

Figure 6: Ceramic distributions by layer for East Trench

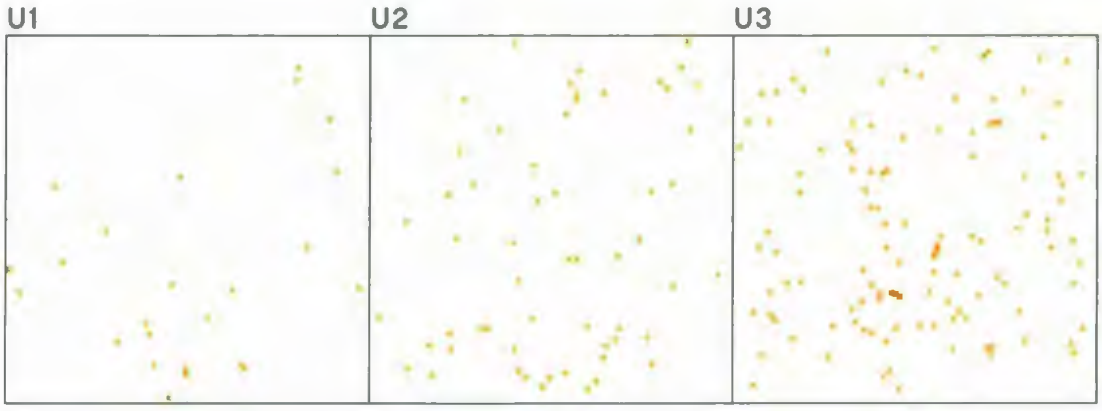


Figure 7: Ceramic distributions by unit for West Trench Shore

West Trench Shore 2005 Ceramic Distributions by Vertical Excavation Layer

	U1	U2	U3
SS	2	2	4
2A	20	30	32
2B	6	38	34
2C		5	65
2D			3
2E			2
2F			2
TOTALS	**28**	**75**	**142**

GRAND TOTAL (ALL UNITS COMBINED) 245

Figure 8: Ceramic distributions by layer for West Trench Shore

Often, older ceramics such as the coarse earthenwares and salt-glazed stonewares were incorporated stratigraphically with the refined earthenwares of later periods. There are three plausible reasons for the displacement of ceramics within stratigraphic layers: the particular types may have been acquired at the same time as the bulk of the refined white earthenware selection, the earlier ceramic wares may have been curated objects incorporated into the household selection with refined earthenwares, or the sod roofing may have impacted the stratigraphy of the midden layers. If roofing sods were frequently repaired and replaced, this would certainly explain the inter-mingling of ceramic types as well as plausibly explain the displacement of ceramics about the site. Some fragments of ceramic have corresponding refit fragments that were located in other excavation trenches at the site. Sod removal for roofing would be a viable explanation for these phenomena.

The lack of ceramic ware in an assemblage can be just as informative as the presence of particular types. The Kongu ceramic assemblage contains neither creamwares nor any ironstone. This can be understood as nicely bracketing the site to roughly between the dates of 1780-1860. Brighter refined earthenwares such as pearlwares supplant creamwares in the latter part of the eighteenth century, while ironstone was an extremely popular form of utilitarian, vitrified white earthenware that exploded in popularity during the 1850's (South 1977). The site may have been occupied before 1780, but the ceramic trade was not yet important.

Three other contemporaneous Labrador Inuit sites were included in this study: Komaktorvik 1/IhCw-1 (Kaplan 1983), Tuglavina/IdCr-1 (Schledermann 1971) and Ikkusik/IdCr-2 (Schledermann 1971). Appendices 2 and 4 contain ceramic and tobacco pipe inventories for these sites.

Kaplan reviewed Komaktorvik 1 for her 1983 dissertation on the Neoeskimo occupation of the Labrador coast. The site is located on the northwestern side of Komaktorvik Fiord, 3 km SW of Peabody Point. The site includes roughly 12 Neo-eskimo dwellings from various occupational phases (Kaplan 1983).

Material culture from two other sites from the Saglek region of Labrador was provided through Schledermann's work in the region in the late 1970's. Schledermann, as part of his 1971 Master's thesis, excavated the Tuglavina site - located roughly 460 metres from the Ikkusik site on Rose Island. Consisting of fourteen house depressions, the site can also be considered as multi-component with an occupational phase that encompasses the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. The Ikkusik site, located on the southestern tip of Rose Island and consisting of twenty house depressions, was also excavated and studied by Schledermann for the same project. The site contained multiple occupations including a period spanning roughly from the early eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. All three of these sites produced material culture that was similar in nature to that recovered at the Kongu site and they are all considered to have contemporaneous periods of Inuit habitation. Each ceramic assemblage was examined, with the exception of four missing sherds from Komaktorvik 1.

Review of the catalogue database shows some inconsistencies and generalities in regards to ceramic identification – perhaps because ceramics were not the exclusive focus of these excavations. But in general, all three assemblages are comparable to those from Kongu, considering all of the assemblages consist of the same ceramic types and wares - with the exception of the inclusion of creamwares. All three ceramic assemblages contain high percentages of refined white earthenwares – representing the bulk of the

assemblages. The rest of the assemblages consist of stonewares and coarse earthenwares in low percentages with the occasional inclusion of odd and rare forms such as porcelain and the refined stoneware referred to as "black basalt". Appendix 2 contains the ceramic inventory for the three contemporaneous sites. Ceramic sherds available for physical study at The Rooms are listed below in Table 1.

Table 1: Ceramic sherd counts for contemporaneous Inuit sites

Site	# of fragments	# of fragments listed in catalogue	% of total assemblage available for study
Komaktorvik 1	40	44	91%
Tuglavina	75	75	100%
Ikkusik	17	17	100%

The large quantity and variety of transfer printed forms in the ceramic assemblage of Kongu and the contemporaneous Inuit sites yield the potential for many identifiable and dateable patterns and manufacturers. Many pattern and source books for English transfer print patterns were therefore consulted for the analysis (Copeland 1982; Coysh and Henrywood 1982, 2001; Quintner 1997; Ross 1977; Sussman 1979a, 1979b to name a few). Unfortunately, only a few of the patterns could be positively identified. Interestingly, all of the identifiable patterns have a link to the HBC and the Copeland pottery.

This raises the tantalizing possibility that some proportion of the ceramic wares were directly acquired from the HBC. The Inuit of Nachvak Fiord may have by-passed the Moravians altogether and acquired their ceramics from HBC trading posts, or through

a network of Inuit middlemen who passed the goods east from more central posts in the Ungava region such as Fort Chimo and Fort George/Big River.

Vessel form is another important aspect of ceramic analysis. Through counting the decorative pattern variety on the sherds from Kongu, there is the potential for 149 different vessels to be represented in the assemblage. The nature of the ceramic assemblage precludes categorization of specific forms - such as pitchers, measuring cups, etc., but it is possible to assign sherds to general ceramic forms. This breaks the assemblage into four distinct categories that serve the purpose of this study: bowls, cups, unidentified hollowwares and plates (flatware). Such a rudimentary breakdown of ceramic assemblages is a valuable diagnostic tool for relating ceramic forms to foodways.

South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Formula was also an integral aspect of analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Kongu and contemporaneous neighbours on the Labrador coast. South devised the formula in order to create a temporal scale of chronologically ordered ceramic types and to assist in defining site occupation periods. He emphasises that a larger ceramic assemblage is more reliable, but the formula can be applied to any reasonable assemblage as long as provenience control is observed during excavation (South 1977: 219). Once the ceramic types were identified for each site according to decorative type, South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Formula was applied in order to determine a plausible mean date of occupation for Kongu and the three other Inuit sites included in this study.

South's original formula was based on types common to the eighteenth century, and thus has been modified to include known decorative forms of the nineteenth century (a feat encouraged by South as an expansion on his original formula calculations).

General categories of ceramics, often with broad manufacturing ranges of hundreds of years (coarse earthenwares, stonewares, tinglazed wares and porcelains, for example) were not included in the calculation. Production ranges were gleaned from the following sources: Burke (1991), Deetz (1996), the Florida Museum of Natural History ceramic digital collection (2006), Godden (1972), Noël Hume (1969), South (1977), and the St. Mary's ceramic digital collection (2006). The calculation of mean date was based on Burke (1991: 4). It consists of two steps – initially the sherd frequency for each ceramic type is multiplied by the mean date calculated. The sum of the product of each calculation is then in turn divided by the sum of the total sherd frequency.

Once mean dates were established for all of the sites incorporated into this study, they were used to determine Miller's Ceramic Index values (1980; 1991). This added layer of analysis allows the archaeologist to perceive socio-economic differentiation through consumption and presence of ceramic goods.

Miller (1980; 1991) devised ceramic index values in order to generate information on ceramic expenditure patterns for the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century. The index values are calculated and used to rank sites, or households, on a scale according to the relative mean value of the ceramic assemblage (Miller 1980; 1991; Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987). These values are then utilized to decipher the relative socio-economic status of households through ceramic consumption patterns (McBride and McBride 1987).

The index primarily categorizes English refined white earthenwares (creamwares, pearlwares and whitewares) that developed in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and displaced most other ceramic types in the English marketplace. The classification of

ceramics within the indices is based on decorative type, rather than the ware-type system that is predominantly used in identifying ceramics of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries. By relying on decorative type rather than ware type, the researcher eliminates the highly subjective and personal categorization of various (and extremely similar) refined white earthenwares, and instead utilizes a more reliable and consistent decorative classification (Miller 1980; 1991). The ceramics are classified according to more discrete categories.

Miller (1980; 1991) devised the price indices based on potter's price-fixing agreements, commodities indices, and other historic documentation. Plain creamware, or CC plain, is typically assigned an index value of 1, as the lowest-valued ware. There are four categories for ceramics in total, the highest level incorporating those decorative wares that are recognized as transfer printed wares (porcelains are not included). The category levels and associated ceramic types are listed in Table 2 (adapted from Miller 1980: 3-4).

Table 2: Miller's ceramic index categories

Category	Associated ceramic type	Description
1	Undecorated creamware/earthenwares	plain, utilitarian
2	Minimal decoration	shell-edged, slipwares, sponged
3	Handpainted wares	more skill required than level 2
4	Transfer print wares	3 to 5 times more expensive than level 1 ("Flow Blue" printed most expensive prior to 1850)

Miller (1980; 1991) specifically uses predominantly English white refined earthenwares in the index due to these wares' particular relationship with socio-economic status and display. The index is also subdivided in terms of ceramic form - plates, cups, and bowls are all individually categorized with their own index number according to year of manufacture, and thus index values can be compared for both decorative type and ceramic form.

These indices are used to economically rank the ceramic assemblage from two households at Kongu: the western portion of the site (House 2) and the eastern portion (House 7). The indices were also applied in a modified format to a selection of ceramics from two other northern Labrador assemblages for comparison purposes (Komaktorvik 1 [IhCw-1], House 2, and Tuglavina [IdCr-1], House 5), primarily to determine whether proximity to the maritime trade on the outer coast would influence the ceramic types and frequencies available in house assemblage.

While Miller (1980; 1991) never intended the indices to be used to rank ceramics acquired any way other than by direct purchase through retailers, I would argue that the indices are still valuable for estimating relative household wealth. They can also be used to identify the quality of ceramics in the Inuit household. For the far northern regions of Labrador, ceramics would have been difficult to acquire without considerable effort, expenditure and travel.

Application of Miller's index (1980; 1991) is also important to understanding the economic standing of those residing on the fiord, in relation to those with better access to coastal trade in northern Labrador. This type of analysis tells us whether the residents of

Kongu were on par with their contemporaneous outer fiord neighbours, or whether their more remote location was an economic hindrance.

4.5 Clay pipe analysis

This part of the chapter presents the variety of analytical methods applied to the kaolin clay tobacco pipe assemblage from Kongu (and in varied forms, the three other contemporaneous Labrador Inuit sites). Analysis of the clay tobacco pipe assemblage includes applying pipestem bore diameter dating methods as devised by Harrington (1954), Binford (1962) and Hanson (1969). As well, analysis considers the possibility of identifiable pipe manufacturer's through decorative elements.

The 2004 excavations at IgCv-7 produced less than ten pipe fragments and these, as with the ceramics, have been amalgamated into the 2005 season assemblage. Out of 239 total fragments procured during both excavation seasons, the 2005 west trench excavations at the east of the House 2 kitchen alcove generated 220 pipe fragments.

There are, unfortunately, no satisfactory ways to determine exactly how many tobacco pipes are present in the assemblage. Pipes are fragile and prone to breakage, are extremely difficult to reconstruct, and come in a large variety of lengths. Counts of fragments that preserve the bowl and pipestem juncture number around 19, which represents an estimate of the minimum number of pipes in the assemblage. Appendix 3 provides specific catalogue information for all pipe fragments collected at IgCv-7. Figures 9 and 11 provide an illustration of the pipe fragment distribution per unit for both excavation trenches. Figures 10 and 12 provide the depth-below-datum distribution in 10cm vertical layer increments.

Figure 9: Pipe distributions by unit for East Trench

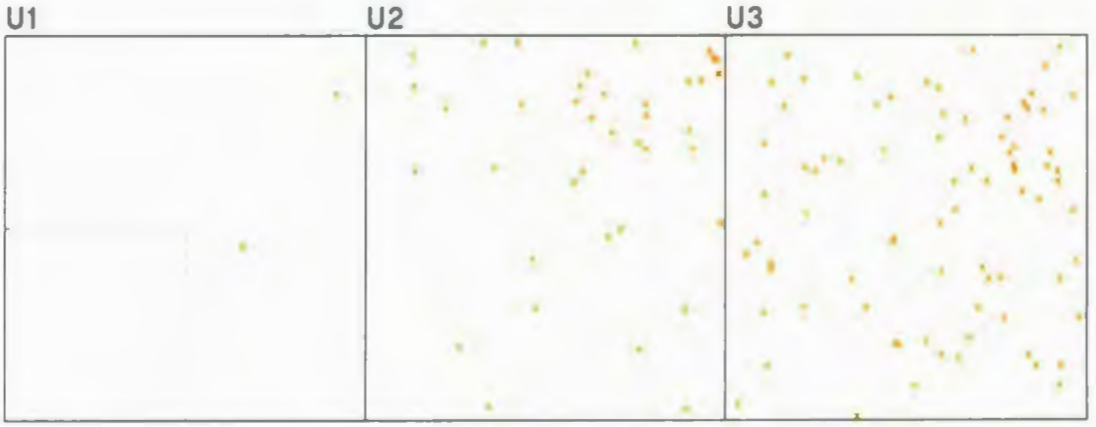
East Trench 2004/2005 Pipe Distributions by Vertical Layer

	U1	U2	U3	U4	U5*
SS	1				1
2A	4		1	2	4
2B				2	
2C					2
2D					1
2E				1	
3A					
3B					
TOTALS	5	0	1	5	8

GRAND TOTAL (ALL UNITS COMBINED) 19

*Unit 5 is attached to south of Unit 3

Figure 10: Pipe distributions by layer for East Trench



West Trench Shore T2 (2005)
Pipe Fragment Distributions

Dotted line in Unit 1 indicates initial 50cm x 50cm test pit
(1m x 1m Units)

N

Figure 11: Pipe distributions by unit for West Trench Shore

West Trench Shore 2005 Pipe Distributions by Vertical Layer

	U1	U2	U3
SS			12
2A	13	51	60
2B	1	15	49
2C		1	9
2D			2
2E			1
2F			1
TOTALS	**14**	**67**	**134**

GRAND TOTAL (ALL UNITS COMBINED) 215

Figure 12: Pipe distributions by layer for West Trench Shore

One of the best ways to use tobacco pipes to glean chronological information is through analysis of the pipe bowl form. Researchers such as Oswald (1951) and Ayto (1994) produced pipe bowl seriation chronologies that clearly show the distinct changes in bowl shape over fairly regular twenty to thirty year intervals. Recent debates in historical archaeology have sought to reincorporate this method of kaolin clay pipe analysis as the premier method for mean site occupation date analysis (Mallios 2005). Noël Hume (1969: 303) presents a simplification of Oswald's chronology in his seminal 1969 publication. Unfortunately, while kaolin tobacco pipe fragments often survive intact in archaeological deposits, they are generally too small to be of any use. Kongu produced only 12 even partially intact pipe bowls and thus we are left to analyze the pipestem bore diameter.

Originally devised by Harrington (1954), this method works on the rudimentary basis that bore diameter (as measured in /64") can be correlated with a date range for pipe manufacture. Noël Hume (1969) explains that forcing a wire through the stem while the pipe was still fixed in the mould created the stem bore. But as the stem lengths grew, it became more practical to use a thinner wire to create the bore, as a thicker wire was more likely to break through the stem. Thus as stem bores shrink during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is possible to deduce a date of production through measurement of the bore diameter. According to Harrington, every thirty to fifty years from roughly 1600 to 1800, the bore diameter was reduced by exactly 1/64" – thus demonstrating a standard, and measurable, reduction in bore size over time (Harrington 1978; Mallios 2005: 90).

Harrington (1978) used samples of English pipestems from known contexts from such sites as Jamestown, Williamsburg and the Fort Frederica National Monument, and measured the bore diameters with a /64" drill bit set. Harrington admitted that his sample size was uncharacteristically small when devising the formula, but the pipestem bores fell into characteristic categories ranging from 4/64" to 9/64". This bore diameter range corresponds with dates for English kaolin pipes ranging from 1620-1800. The larger the stem diameter (up to 9/64"), the older the kaolin pipes.

The combined total of pipe fragments for the three contemporaneous Labrador Inuit sites is 33 fragments. Tobacco pipe inventories for the three contemporaneous Inuit sites is presented in Appendix 4. Out of 26 measurable pipestem fragments, 73% of the collection has a diameter of 4/64" – providing a date range of about 1750-1800 (Deetz 1996: 28; Harrington 1978: 64). Due to small sample size, these fragments of pipe stem are excluded from application of both Binford (1962) and Hanson's (1969) calculations in Chapter 5, although, all identifiable pipe fragments are included in the identifiable manufacturer portion of this analysis.

Binford developed a straight-line regression formula incorporating Harrington's original method, but allowing for a mean date to be calculated for any size of assemblage (Noël Hume 1969: 299). Essentially, Binford's approach relied on the fact that if bore diameter consistently and progressively got smaller, theoretically the bore would disappear altogether by 1931 (Alexander 1983). His formula is expressed as follows: Y = 1931.85 – (38.26X). "Y" is the date to be determined through calculation, 1931.85 is the theoretical date of bore disappearance, 38.26 represents the decrease in years between

each /64", and X represents the mean stem bore diameter (Alexander 1983). To calculate the date according to Binford's formula, the following steps are followed (Oswald 1975):

1. Each size of bore diameter is multiplied by each number of fragments, producing a "product"
2. Both the number of total fragments and the total product are both calculated
3. The total product is divided by the total number of fragments – this number represents the mean bore diameter
4. Multiply this number by 38.26
5. Subtract this total from the theoretical mean date of 1931.85

Binford was cautious to indicate that the formula becomes inaccurate as dates reach the nineteenth century, and that for the formula to be relevant the deposition of the pipestems must be random and representative (Oswald 1975). Mallios' (2005) review of the technique also reveals concerns about the method requiring large sample sizes and becoming unreliable when calculated for stems of the nineteenth century. Past 1800, pipe manufacture becomes more variable in form, technique and bore diameter (Oswald 1975). While these formulas show inconsistencies and inaccuracies when applied to pipe assemblages accumulated after 1800, they are still useful for calculating a probable mean date. For this study, dates produced through analysis of the pipe stems from Kongu and the contemporaneous northern Inuit sites are cross-referenced with the dates produced by the ceramic assemblage. Thus we have two independent methods of achieving the same goal - a plausible date for site occupation.

Hanson (1969), and others such as Heighton and Deagan (1971), also weighed in with modifications to the original formula, with some success. Hanson's formula incorporated a non-linear relationship between bore diameter and date, and he integrated a variety of constants for different ranges of dates. Hanson's calculation for the assemblage from Kongu is expressed as: $Y = 2026.12 - (58.97X) \pm (2s)(22.50)$ (Hanson

in Oswald 1975: 93). Both Binford's (1962) and Hanson's (1969) formulas are applied to the total measurable pipe stem assemblage from IgCv-7.

Historic documentation also provides us with a list of identifiable clay pipe manufacturers. Distinguishing marks on clay pipes begin to appear in the seventeenth century and marks can be incluse, relief or moulded. These decorative elements were built into the pipe moulds as reliefs, sometimes stamped and impressed, or rouletted (Oswald 1975). Through the incorporation of maker's marks and stylistic elements, particular pipe manufacturers distinguished their wares. Gaulton (1999: 27) explains that as a general template, marked English and Dutch pipes of the early seventeenth century are stamped on the heel. The latter part of the seventeenth century sees the incorporation of not only heel marks, but marks on both the stem and back of the bowl. During the eighteenth century, specimens have names on the stem, a moulded cartouche on the sides of the bowl, and moulded initials on the sides of the heel/spur. The nineteenth century also produces marked specimens that can be correlated with manufacture dates.

While many researchers have compiled data regarding specific pipe manufacturers, often the archaeologist turns to Oswald's seminal 1975 publication *Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist* published in British Archaeological Reports. The BAR series includes many titles that review various pipe manufacturers – mostly from Britain, as these are the best documented. The assemblage at Kongu produced six bowl fragments that can possibly be identified to manufacturer. The three other contemporaneous Inuit sites collectively produced six identifiable specimens – including some exact counterparts to the specimens from Kongu. The identified manufacturer's marks are discussed in depth individually in Chapter 5.

Thus this study seeks to use the ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages from Kongu to explore the contact relationship for the inhabitants of Kongu. Methodology includes integrating primary and secondary historic, and ethnohistoric, source material with the archaeological assemblage. The Moravian and HBC documents provide us with a historic account of the relationship between the European colonizers and the Inuit.

The archaeological assemblages provide us with resources to quantify, identify and study. Ceramic analysis includes identification by ware form, pattern and material. Further examination also includes calculation of South's Mean Ceramic Formula (1977) and application of Miller's (1980; 1991) Ceramic Index Values to determine relative socio-economic status of the inhabitants of Kongu. The tobacco pipe assemblage from Kongu was subject to pipestem bore measurement as a dating methodology for the site (Binford 1962; Hanson 1969; Harrington 1954) as well as identification of manufacturer where possible.

Three other contemporaneous northern Inuit sites are also incorporated into the study to determine relative socio-economic status. The sites were also incorporated in an attempt to determine whether proximity to maritime trade affected types of goods imported into the Inuit household. Chapter 5 presents the reader with in-depth analysis of the ceramic and tobacco pipe assemblages from Kongu.

Chapter 5: Data Analysis

5.1 Ceramic analysis

This part of the chapter presents the results of the variety of analytical methods applied to the ceramic assemblage of IgCv-7 (and in varied forms, the three other contemporaneous Labrador Inuit sites). Analysis of the ceramic assemblage includes in turn:

1) Identification and description of ceramic decorative types and general sherd counts
2) Identified manufacturers and decorative elements
3) Breakdown of vessel forms (hollowwares and flatwares)
4) Application of South's (1977) Mean Ceramic Formula
5) Application of Miller's (1980; 1991) Ceramic Index

The highest total percentages of ceramic decorative type are as follows: plain refined white earthenware (REW) 34%, annular/slipware 23%, and transfer printed 17% - followed by other ceramic types such as utilitarian yellowware and various decorative types. The ceramic sherd totals and type breakdown are presented in Table 3.

While coarse earthenwares, stonewares, tinglazed and porcelain were also represented in the assemblage, aside from general description, they are excluded from the final analysis on account of their undiagnostic nature and broad, manufacture dates (often covering hundreds of years).

A basic overview of decorative types found in the Kongu ceramic assemblage also follows (with total sherd counts indicated in brackets after listed ceramic type). Figures 13 through 16 present the variety of ceramics found in the Kongu assemblage. Figures 17 to 19 present the identified transfer print patterns at Kongu and the contemporaneous Inuit sites included in this study.

Table 3: East and West IgCv-7 total ceramic sherd counts

Ceramic Type	East Count	West count	Total Sherds
Plain white refined earthenware	30	99	129
Annularware/slipware	26	62	88
Transfer print	11	53	64
Flow blue transfer print	0	12	12
Yellowware	19	9	28
Coarse earthenware	4	14	18
Handpainted monochrome	1	6	7
Handpainted polychrome	0	3	3
French faience	1	0	1
Tinglazed	2	0	2
Rim-lined/Hotelware	1	4	5
Porcelain	0	3	3
Scottish spongepainted	2	5	7
Sponged/spattered	0	3	3
Engineturned/rouletted	0	7	7
Stoneware	2	4	6
Molded floral motif	1	0	1
Total	**100**	**284**	**384**

Plain white refined earthenware (129 sherds)

This particular category amalgamates all plain sherds of refined white earthenware – including pearlwares and whitewares. There were no sherds of creamware within the Kongu assemblage. Whitewares were introduced in England as a ceramic type through the inclusion of calcined flint content in the clay, as well as the use of cobalt pigment in the glaze (Noël Hume 1969: 128). The *terminus post quem* for such refined white earthenwares dates to the early 1780's with Wedgewood's production of a rival creamware – referred to as "Pearl white" (Noël Hume 1969: 128; Mount 1972). As a ceramic type, unless factory-marked or isolatable by decorative technique, refined earthenwares rely heavily on subjective opinion for identification rather than objective

characterization. This is due to the fact that often one type (whiteware) was borne of another (pearlware) and many of these wares have over-lapping periods of production (Miller 1980: 2).

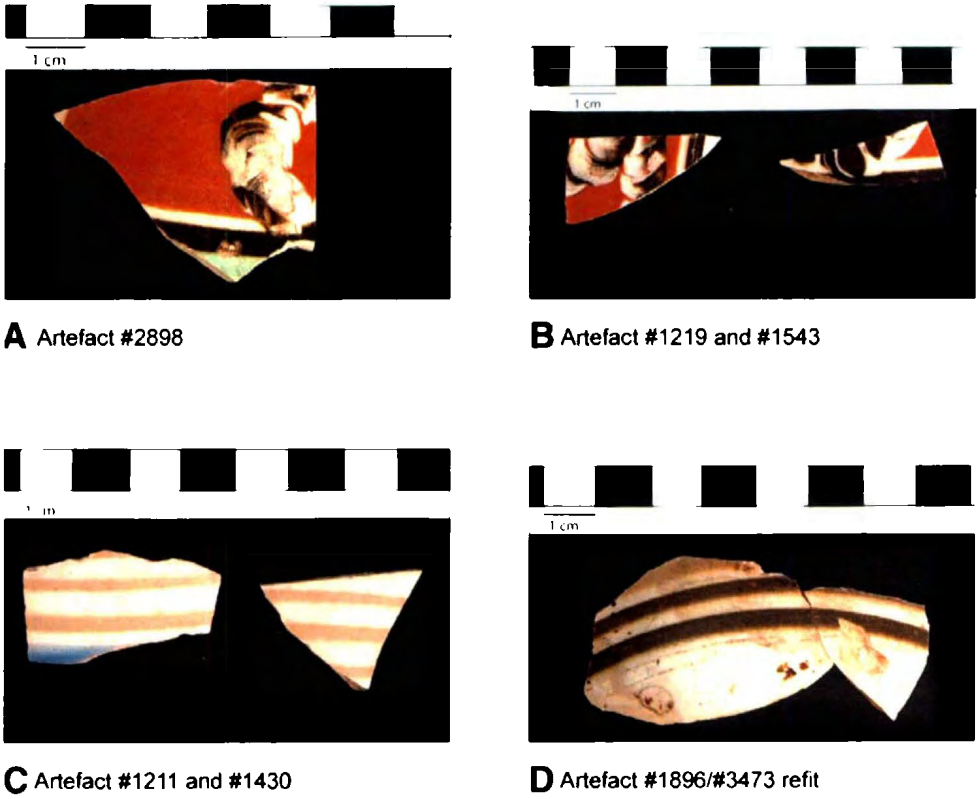
Refined white earthenwares were also at the forefront of revolutionizing the English ceramic market on account of industrial manufacturing innovations such as the mould. The moulding of ceramics allowed for an increase in ceramic forms, standardization, and the mass-production of highly elaborate wares – coveted by both the eager public at home and those abroad in the colonies (Barker 1997: 228). For instance, in the early eighteenth century, Burslem had an estimated 67 potteries in total. By the end of the eighteenth century, this number had increased to 300 (Dawson 1997: 200)

Annularware/Slipware (88 sherds – Figure 13)

Factory-produced slipwares arose in the latter part of the eighteenth century and this classification encompasses a variety of decorative slipware techniques. Trailing a different coloured clay and water mixture – or slip – over the body of the vessel, produced "banded" slipwares. Dipping the entire vessel in slip and then surface turning the vessel to cut and remove portions of the slip could also produce banding. Slip trailing produced fancy, or waved decorative bands. Introducing a single drop of multicoloured slip to the vessel body and allowing them to merge in a circular design produced cat's eye, another popular decorative motif. "Cabling" the slip created a series of continuous and attached cat's eyes. These particular methods of slipware decoration were all popular on slipware vessels, including marbled decoration (Sussman 1997).

Mocha refers to a dendritic, or fern-like, decoration often produced by the chemical reaction of an acid with a liquid ground (Godden 1972: xxiii). Often, this was a

mixture of urine and tobacco juice, among other recipes (Noël Hume 1969: 130; Sussman 1997: 26). This decorative technique was also common on yellowware forms. Annular or factory slipwares were exclusively hollowwares – and these were often the most inexpensive of decorative forms (Miller 1991: 6). An example of mochaware appears later in Figure 16, item B.



A - B Cabled cat's eye slipware hollowwares from Kongu (IgCv-7).

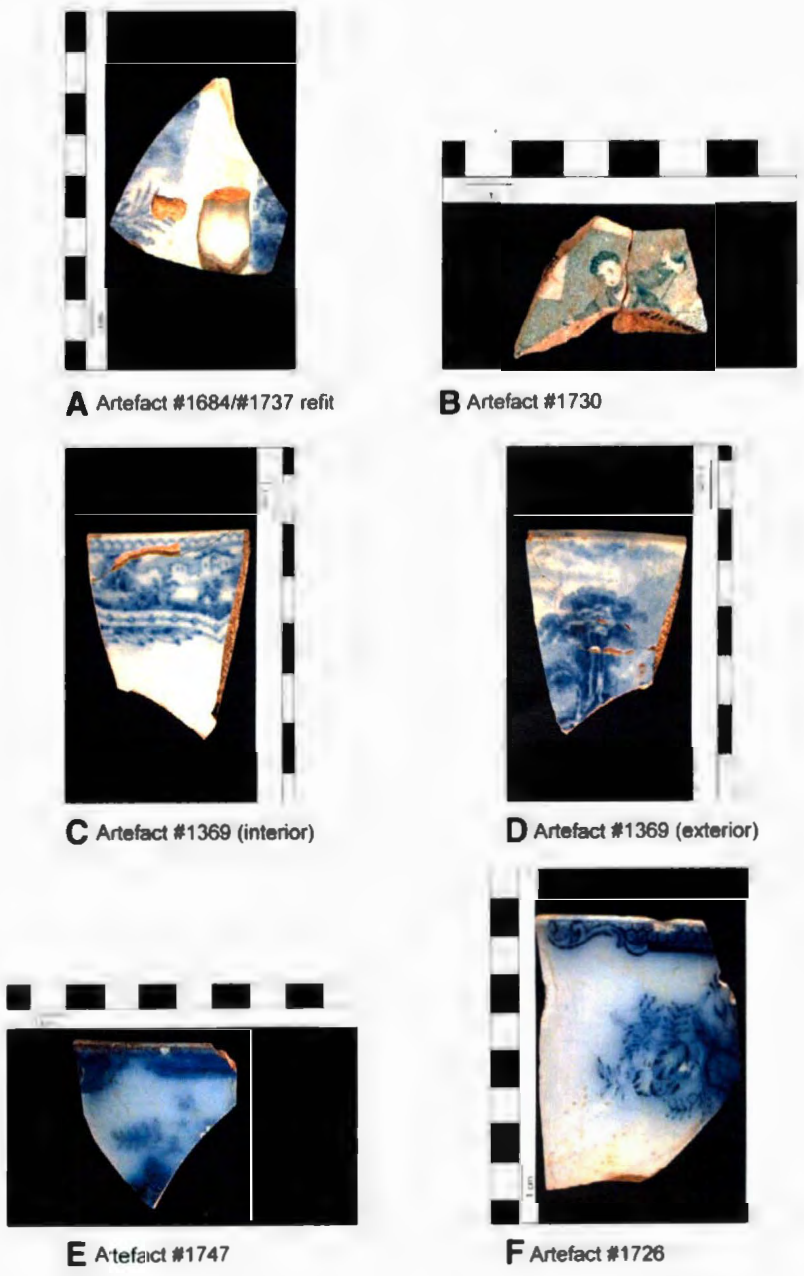
C - D Banded slipware hollowware examples from Kongu (IgCv-7).

Figure 13: Banded slipwares from Kongu

Transfer print (76 sherds – Figure 14)

The transfer print process was borne of the desire to emulate and mass-produce wares that resembled the popular, and extremely expensive, Chinese porcelains available through import. When careless individuals broke or mishandled Chinese porcelain tablewares, there was often a waiting list of up to two years for replacement china (Quintner 1997: 20). In 1761, the transfer printing process was successfully used on porcelain in England, but would need another decade of development before widespread application to creamware and refined white earthenware forms. Most often seen in tablewares, toiletwares and teawares, the perfection of transfer printing is most often credited to the Spode pottery during the early 1780's (Copeland 1982: 7). The process, in its basest form, consists of a design printed from hand-engraved copper plates that were then transferred to tissue. The tissue was in turn applied to the ceramic body and the paper soaked away, leaving only the oil-based colour (Copeland 1982). Other colours, and multi-coloured prints were introduced from the 1830's onward (Copeland 1982: 27).

Flow, or "flown" blue, transfer prints (circa 1835-1845) are also included in this portion of the assemblage. The effect of a bled image, or halo effect, was achieved through the addition of lime or aluminum chloride into the kiln as the wares were fired (Coysh and Henrywood 1982: 140). In Figure 14, these particular types of transfer print are represented by items E and F.



A - F Variety of blue transfer-print hollowwares from Kongu (IgCv-7).

Figure 14: Assorted blue transfer prints from Kongu

Yellowware (28 sherds – Figure 15, item A)

Produced predominantly as a utilitarian kitchenware for storage and food preparation during the mid to late nineteenth century, this yellow earthenware was also alternately referred to at times as "Derbyshire Ironstone" or "cane ware" (Godden 1972: xxviii; Sussman 1997: 77). The partially vitrified earthenware was often coated with a clear glaze of mustard to light yellow tint. Slip banding, and the dendritic decoration known as "mocha", was also frequently applied to this class of wares (Sussman 1997: 77).

Coarse earthenwares (18 sherds – Figure 15, item B)

Coarse earthenwares were produced in England for millennia and typically low-fired and porous in nature until glazed (Deetz 1996). Almost all of the examples in the Kongu assemblage are of a reddish paste bearing red hematite inclusions. The glaze is light brown in nature with streaks where the hematite has reacted with the glaze. They most resemble Somerset coarse earthenwares and Nether Stowey coarse earthenwares of West Somerset dating from the mid-sixteenth to early eighteenth century (Coleman-Smith and Pearson 1988). These Somerset wares have been located at a number of colonial North American sites in the southern United States and Newfoundland and predominantly date from the seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century. One of the other earthenware fragments (artefact #2352) may be Spanish in origin on account of the presence of micaceous iron oxide on the exterior of the vessel according to Stephen Mills of the Memorial University Archaeology Unit (personal communication 2005).

Handpainted (10 sherds – Figure 15, item C)

Handpainted under-glazed monochromatic and polychromatic designs occur on pearlwares and other white refined earthenwares in the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. Blue painted wares emulating patterns from Chinese porcelains were popular from the latter part of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth. In 1795 polychromatic painting was introduced (Miller 1991: 8). Often incorporating floral and geometric motifs, as seen in the examples from the Kongu assemblage, handpainted wares lose popularity with the introduction of other highly decorative wares such as transfer printed (Noël Hume 1969: 129).

Miscellaneous types (12 sherds – Figure 15, items D and E)

Tinglazed (known alternately as "majolica", "faience", or "delft" depending on country of origin) ceramic is earthenware that is low-fired and covered by an opaque lead glaze. Originally developed in several European countries, tinglaze was introduced as an affordable alternative to Chinese porcelain (Stoddard 2000: 49). As a ware, it was introduced to England in the mid seventeenth century, and declined in popularity once creamwares and refined white earthenwares gained most of the market share in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Barker 1997: 226).

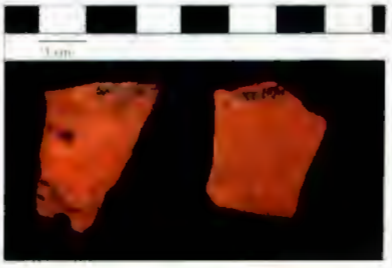
Rim-lined wares are also present in the assemblage in low frequencies. These wares are characterized by a coloured rim-line on a refined white earthenware body, typically of table and tea form in nature. Not to be confused with annularwares and slipwares, these wares date from the latter part of the nineteenth century and are characteristically associated with durable wares produced for institutions, hence their alternate designation as "hotelware" (Miller 1991: 7).

Porcelain, although unidentifiable to place of origin, is also present in the assemblage from Kongu. These fragments are most likely either remnants of a child's tea set, or perhaps the neck articulation from a doll (Figure 15, item E). Porcelain was the most extravagant, expensive and rarest ware in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and was most associated with only the most affluent households (Noël Hume 1969: 257). The Chinese originally developed porcelain as a high-fired, translucent, vitreous, hard paste form made of kaolin clay and silicate petuntse, during the Han dynasty (185-80 B.C.) (Chaffers 1903: 322-323). The English attempted various formulas to replicate it in the mid-eighteenth century, succeeding best with the formula for bone china introduced by Spode in 1794 (Miller 1991: 11)

Spongepainted/spattered (10 sherds – Figure 15, item F)

Most associated with Scottish potteries (see Cruikshank 1982), this ware is best described as refined earthenware decorated with colour applied all-over by sponge, or to specific areas with a sponge cut with a decorative motif. It was an inexpensive decorative form most noted for reflecting a primitive charm (Godden 1972: xxvii). Most of the examples in the Kongu assemblage are pink with a green band at the lip. Sponged wares are most commonly noted in the nineteenth century, and can also be linked to particular potteries (Burke 1991: 38). This decorative form was most prevalent on hollowware and flatware forms, including teawares, bowls and a variety of plates (Cabak and Loring 2000: 8). A variety of this ware - decorated with cut-sponge designs - comprises 14% of the total refined white earthenware assemblage recoved from the Inuit midden at Nain (HdCk-21) during 1990 excavations as part of the Taipsumani Archaeological Project (Loring 1998) and studied in-depth by Cabak and Loring (2000).

A Artefact #1222/#1548 refit, #1746, #2174

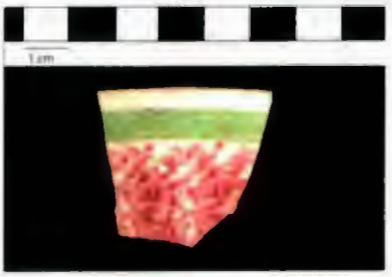


B Artefact #1007 and 2367

C Artefact #2980 and #3292

D Artefact #3344

E Artefact #2159 and#1855



F Artefact #1218

A Utilitarian yellowware refined earthenwares

B Coarse earthenware with hematite inclusions; not unlike Somerset wares

C Monocrome and polychrome hand-painted refined earthenwares

D Tinglazed earthenware

E Porcelain fragment (possibly from doll neck articulation?)

F Scottish sponge-painted refined earthenware

Figure 15: Miscellaneous ceramic types from Kongu

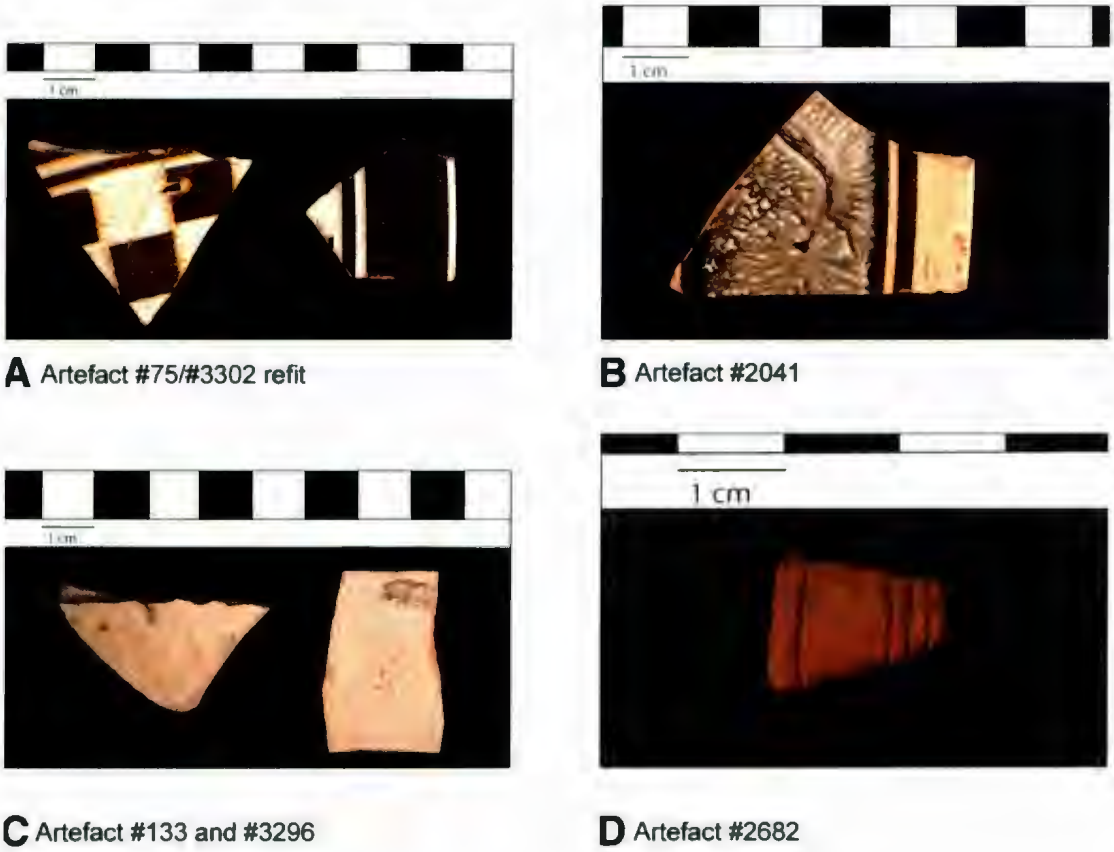
Engine-turned/roulette (7 sherds – Figure 16, item A)

Engine-turning is most often attributed to Josiah Wedgwood's successful development of a complex, pattern-cutting lathe in 1764 (Sussman 1997: 27). This "engine-turning" produced regularly spaced cuts, designs and patterns on a ceramic vessel. The vessel was mounted on a shaft that slowly revolved while a fixed cutting tool was grazed against the body. Rouletting works on the same principle, but the roulette wheel contains a continuous design in an embossed pattern (often chequered, cross-hatched, or herringboned) that is impressed into the vessel. By rolling the wheel continuously against the clay vessel, the design is impressed in a continuous band (Sussman 1997: 33).

Stonewares (6 sherds – Figure 16, item C)

One of the earliest and most durable forms of ceramic is stoneware. England produced stonewares beginning in the late seventeenth century, and continuing well into the nineteenth century. Stonewares are characteristically made of partly vitrified clays that have been fired at a high temperature (+ 1300°C) (Godden 1972: xxvii). The addition of salt to the kiln during the firing process produces the characteristic pitted texture (or orange-peel effect) noticeable in the glaze.

The majority of salt-glazed stonewares were Rhenish in origin until the mid to late seventeenth century in England (Noël Hume 1969: 112). Most of the examples in the IgCv-7 assemblage are wheel-throw and grey-bodied, with a salt-glaze. Artefact #1333 may be associated with Normandy stoneware on account of its characteristic deep brown paste (Stephen Mills personal communication 2005).



A Engine-turned refined earthenware

B Dendritic patterned banded mochaware

C Salt-glazed stoneware

D Incised coarse earthenware fragment

Figure 16: Miscellaneous ceramic types from Kongu

Identified Manufacturers and Decorative Patterns (Figures 17, 18 and 19)

If the archaeologist is lucky enough to recover identifiable decorative patterns, they are presented with the possibility of very tight production date ranges. These date ranges can be incorporated into analyses of site occupation span. The west trench provided the only two ceramic sherds with discernable manufacturer's marks (artefact numbers 1519 and 1626). These printed marks are both attributed to the Copeland pottery and probably date from 1833 – 1847 and from 1847 onwards (Godden 1972: 115). The pattern is a brown transfer print referred to as "Honeysuckle", or alternately titled "Empire" and is presented in Figure 17, items A and B. It is also present at the Hudson's Bay Company site of Lower Fort Garry and nine other nineteenth-century HBC posts (Sussman 1979b). It appears in the Kongu assemblage in both plate and cup form and was registered as a design under W.T. Copeland and Sons in 1855 (Sussman 1979a: 302; 1979b: 126). One fragment of a plate from the Tuglavina site also bears the same "Honeysuckle" Copeland pattern as those recovered from House 2 at Kongu, but in blue (Figure 18, item B).

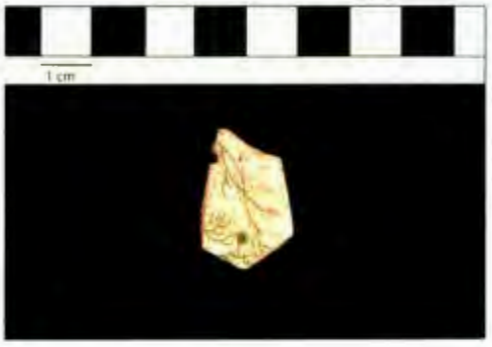
The only other identifiable Copeland pattern is of the "Ivy" variety that was patent registered in 1845. This sometimes incorporates the acorn design as a secondary border on hollowwares, and is also present at Lower Fort Garry (Sussman 1979a: 266; 1979b: 135). Figure 17, item D contains an example of this pattern.

Sussman's (1979a) work with the HBC Lower Fort Garry transfer print ceramics provides us with a direct link to available patterns at another archaeological site. The post was constructed in 1830 by the Hudson's Bay Company on the banks of the Red River, north of Winnipeg, and was in operation until 1911 (Sussman 1979a: 7). Many transfer

print patterns at the HBC posts match, but have not been traced to an identifiable manufacturer.

A Artefact #1626/#1925 refit (front)

B Artefact #1626/#1925 refit (back)



C Artefact #2348

D Artefact #1956/1513 refit

A "Honeysuckle" transfer-print pattern #77 plate fragment. W.T. Copeland and Sons. Pattern registered in 1855. Also found at various HBC posts (Sussman 1979a; 1979b).

B Reverse of A showing partial maker's mark.

C "Fibre" transfer-print pattern cup lip sherd. Manufacturer unknown, but also found at various HBC posts (Sussman 1979a; 1979b).

D "Ivy" transfer-print pattern #22 cup lip sherd. W.T. Copeland registered in 1845. Also found at various HBC posts (Sussman 1979a; 1979b).

Figure 17: Identified transfer prints from Kongu

A Artefact #1626/#1925 refit

B Artefact #245

A "Honeysuckle" Copeland transfer-print example from Kongu (lgCv-7).

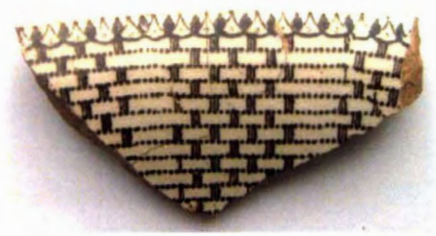
B Same print in blue located at Tuglavina site (ldCr-1).

Figure 18: "Honeysuckle" transfer print from Kongu and Tuglavina sites

Cup fragments from Kongu contain the "Fibre" pattern of stylized branches (Figure 17, item C). IgCv-7 also provides an example of a brown geometric chequered band present on a hollowware form included in Figure 19, item A. Both of these patterns are also present at the Lower Fort Garry site (Sussman 1979a: 294). Also present in the assemblage is the stylized "greek key" border that is associated with the Spode and Copeland firm (Sussman 1979b: 76).

The Tuglavina ceramic assemblage provides links to both Kongu and Lower Fort Garry, and associated HBC post sites across Canada. The ceramic assemblage contains two plates that bear impressed marks of the Copeland pottery (artefact numbers 211 and 237). One contains the Copeland name over a turret, and the other over a crown. Incised pottery marks of Copeland manufacture can be attributed to the years 1847-67 (Godden 1968: 171). The pattern on a re-assembled plate/platter is referred to as "B772" and contains a deep blue flowed print of a geometric border encompassing stylized sprigs of sweetpea and floral motifs (artefact number 211). This pattern, dating from 1839-1867, is found in the Lower Fort Garry collection, as well as at 18 other HBC sites across Canada (Sussman 1979a; 1979b). The other identified transfer print pattern at the Tuglavina site is of the pattern referred to as "Ruins" or "Melrose" shown in Figure 19, item C, with a production date range of mid-nineteenth to twentieth century. This pattern occurs at roughly fifteen other HBC sites (Sussman 1979b). There is also a small fragment of violet transfer print in the Tuglavina assemblage (artefact number 219) that matches the leaf motif pattern found at Kongu (Figure 17, item D).

All of the identifiable transfer print patterns in the IgCv-7 collection, and within the other northern Labrador ceramic assemblages, seem to issue from the same



A Artefact #1472

B Artefact #1724/#2151

C Artefact #237

A Brown transfer-print geometric hollowware border from Kongu (IgCv-7). Manufacturer unknown. Also located at HBC Lower Fort Garry Post, Manitoba (Sussman 1979a)

B "Honeysuckle" transfer-print hollowware sherd from Kongu (IgCv-7). Pattern also identified at multiple HBC post sites (Sussman 1979a; 1979b).

C Transfer-print pattern identified as "Ruins" by W. T. Copeland circa 1848 - Also found at various HBC posts (Sussman 1979b). This particular plate comes from the Tuglavina site (IdCr-1) ceramic assemblage

Figure 19: Identified HBC transfer prints from Kongu and Tuglavina sites

manufacturer: the English pottery known as Copeland – or associated permutations such as Spode and Copeland, or the W.T. Copeland potteries - all active in the nineteenth century. The Copeland potteries were the exclusive suppliers of transfer print ceramics for the HBC from 1830 to the early twentieth century in Canada (Sussman 1979a; 1979b). Researchers such as Sussman (1979a; 1979b) and Ross (1977) provide us with detailed catalogues of hundreds of Copeland patterns available at HBC sites across Canada. No other maker's marks present on ceramics in the contemporaneous Inuit site collections available at The Rooms provincial museum, St. John's, Newfoundland, could be identified. That the artefact collection contains identifiable Copeland transfer prints may be telling. If in fact the transfer printed ceramics did issue from the Hudson's Bay Company, this presents us with an enticing prospect – the Inuit may in fact be moving European goods east through the HBC posts to the west, and through local Inuit middlemen, rather than moving goods north from the more southerly Moravian stations on the Labrador coast.

Further evidence of the potential HBC-Inuit relationship comes from the Cabak and Loring (2000) study of sponge-stamped ceramics found at the Nain mission. Excavation of a nineteenth-century Inuit midden associated with the mission revealed a high instance of stamped ceramics – representing at least 37 vessels and 14% of the total refined earthenware assemblage (Cabak and Loring 2000: 11). In contrast, this inexpensive and mass-manufactured ware represents less than 1% of the total assemblage from Kongu. According to Cabak and Loring (2000: 9), this ware was very popular at the Moravian mission stations due to low cost and its appeal to the frugal nature of the

Moravians. A lack of this ceramic type in the Kongu assemblage may indicate a lack of trade relations on the Inuit-Moravian side.

Brice-Bennett (1981) posits that it was the establishment of the HBC post on the Koksoak River in Ungava Bay that caused sharp decline in Hebron and Okak conversions in the 1830's. Once established, the residents from Nackvak and other northerners chose to exercise their new option in being astute consumers. Brice-Bennett (1981) also reports that the HBC extension of credit to the Inuit, and attractive prices also may have played a large part in securing Inuit loyalty. There is evidence for a complex trade network on the Labrador coast, that either circumvented or incorporated the Moravians as the Inuit so desired.

Vessel Forms: Hollowwares Versus Flatwares

Discerning vessel forms is another key aspect of analysing any ceramic assemblage. While the nature of the ceramic assemblage from IgCv-7 precludes any possibility of defining explicit ceramic forms (e.g. jug, punchbowl, chamberpot, sugarbowl), a simple methodology was devised which incorporates hollowware and flatware forms. Otto (1977) uses this technique to reconstruct foodways and food consumption patterns based on ceramic vessel form. Most importantly this approach is based on the assumption that a high proportion of hollowware can be equated with liquid or semi-liquid foods such as stews, while flatwares are better suited for solid, individually portioned meals (Otto 1977). Such assumptions are not only essential in ceramic study, but give us important information about how the Inuit incorporated ceramics into their indigenous foodways.

Table 4 gives the specific breakdown of ceramics located in the east trench assemblage and possibly discernable forms. Table 5 does the same for the west trench shore ceramic assemblage. Table 6 presents ceramic vessel forms for all 5 sites combined in this study. Figure 20 presents hollowware versus flatware percentages in a graph format.

The high instance of hollowwares, and lack of flatware, shows the Inuit's predilection for the hollow form. Both the HBC (Sussman 1979b) and Moravian stores (R26: 38508-9) provided access to a great variety of ceramic tablewares and utilitarian housewares such as teacups, mugs, saucers and plates, jugs, washbasins and chamber pots. But the Inuit household seemed to embrace hollowware above all else. For House 7 in the western portion of IgCv-7, hollowware forms make up 86% of the total ceramic vessel assemblage. In the eastern House 2, hollowwares comprise 82% of the total vessel assemblage.

Traditional Inuit foodways generally focused on a communal foodsharing. Briggs' ethnographic work with the Inuit of the central Canadian Arctic provides invaluable evidence in regards to the importance of this relationship. Food preparation was a social activity, as was meal distribution (Briggs 1970: 24-27). Guests and family members alike would be graciously fed and tended to. Brice-Bennett (1981:33) mentions the Inuit's high esteem of generosity and food sharing as customary. It was engrained as both a cultural and social value.

Table 4: East trench ceramic vessel types and forms

Ceramic Type	Undiag HW	Bowls	Cups	Plates	Other
Coarse earthenware					
Stoneware	1				
Refined earthenware (REW plain)	2		3	1	1 ointment pot
Yellow ware	3	1			
REW - Transfer print				2	1 sugarbowl?
REW - Flow blue transfer print					
Scottish spongepainted			1		
Sponged/spattered					
Engine-turned					
REW handpainted monochromatic					
REW handpainted polychromatic					
REW rim-lined					
Annular ware/Slipware	7	4	1		
REW molded floral motif					
French faience					
White tinglazed					
Porcelain					
Totals	**13**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**2**

Table 5: West trench shore ceramic vessel types and forms

Ceramic Type	Undiag HW	Bowls	Cups	Plates	Other
Coarse earthenware	2				1 tile?
Stoneware	3				
Refined earthenware (REW plain)	4		1		
Yellow ware	3	1		2	2 handle frags
REW - Transfer print	2		12		
REW - Flow blue transfer print			4	2	1 sugarbowl?
Scottish spongepainted			1		
Sponged/spattered					
Engine-turned	1		3		
REW handpainted monochromatic			2		
REW handpainted polychromatic	1				
REW rim-lined					
Annular ware/Slipware	8	8	1		
REW molded floral motif					
French faience					
White tinglazed					
Porcelain					toy teacup/doll neck?
Totals	**24**	**9**	**24**		

Table 6: Identifiable ceramic vessel forms for all five sites

Site	Bowls	Cups	Unident. Hollow ware	Plates	Undeter.	Other	Total Vessels
IgCv-7 West	9	24	24	4		5	66
IgCv-7 East	5	5	13	3		2	28
Komaktorvik 1	7	2	3	1	10		23
Ikkusik	3		9		5		17
Tuglavina	14	5	25	9	14	4	71
Total Vessels	**38**	**36**	**74**	**17**	**29**	**11**	**205**

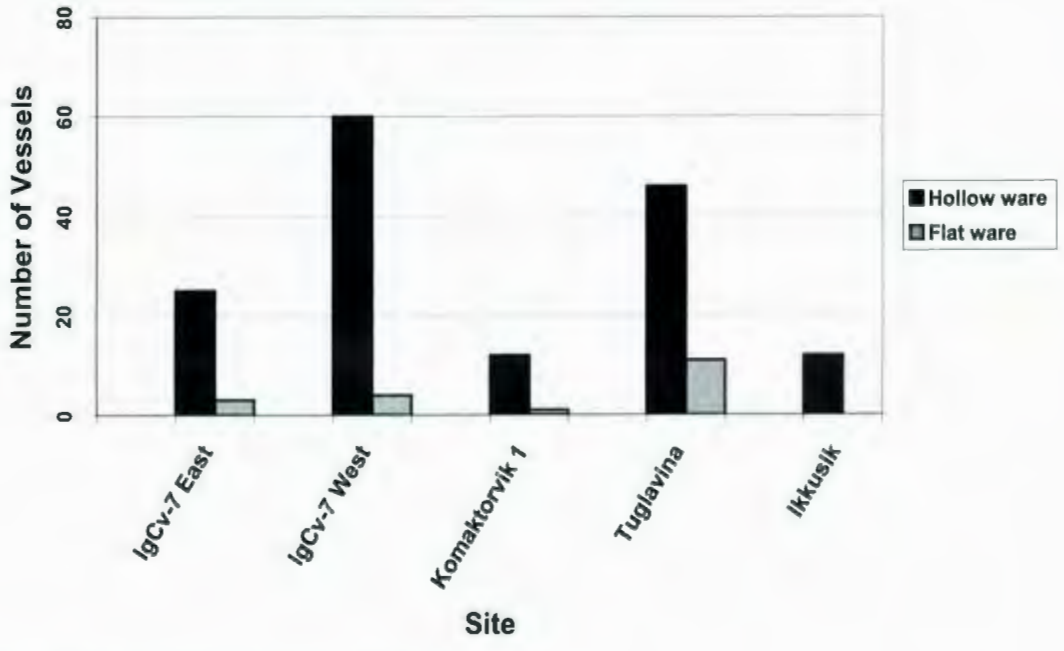


Figure 20: Hollowware versus Flatware forms

In the Inuit household, the kitchen was the realm of women and food preparation - cooking and service was under their direction (Taylor 1974). Traditional Inuit cooking vessels would have been pots fashioned out of soapstone. These vessels were lauded for durability and even heat distribution when cooking (Hawkes 1916). Inuit meals were likely stews and broths – dictating the necessity for a variety of hollowware serving vessels. Inuit serving vessels would have been fashioned out of baleen, skin and wood. Baleen was a versatile material well suited for creating hollowware foodservice vessels. Extracted from whale mouths, baleen is lightweight, malleable and tough (Thiry and Thiry 1977). The traditional hollowware form created out of baleen was likely a wide strip sewn into a circle with a wooden base.

Wooden bowls are also present in Inuit archaeological assemblages and come in a variety of sizes. Durable, they can withstand heavy use and some show evidence of being mended with baleen (Thiry and Thiry 1977: 107). Other kitchenwares include dippers of skin and ivory, wooden spoons and ladles, and buckets likely for the use of liquid, blubber and meats (Thiry and Thiry 1977).

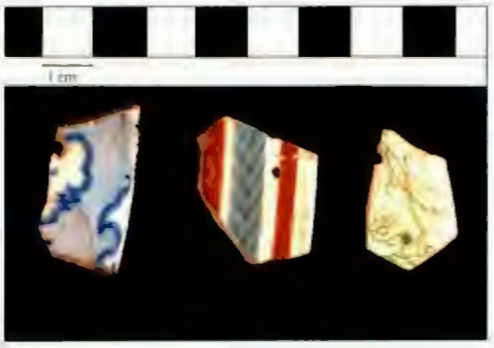
While it is likely the residents of Kongu enjoyed some imported European foodstuffs such as tea, flour, sugar and processed meats (PA 1857 XXII: 384), their food service dishes remained the same in form if not in material. Through analysis of the ceramic assemblage from Kongu, we can see that there is a high instance of hollowware forms. Thus it can be inferred that meals in the Inuit households at Kongu still retained some nature of communal value, reflected in their continued use of the hollowware form over flatwares such as plates.

Another significant link between European ceramics and traditional Inuit hollowware forms considers repair methods for broken vessels. Soapstone vessels such as lamps and pots (or fragments of them), are frequently located in the archaeological assemblage and were often repaired in a traditional method. Pairs of drilled holes were lashed together and likely adhered with a glue of blood and organic substance.

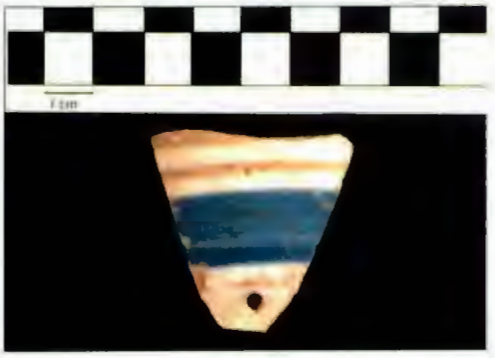
A substantial amount of time and effort went into fashioning soapstone forms, and they were cared for and curated in accordance. Likewise, ceramics would have been valued and repaired – but in consideration of their trade and aesthetic value instead. The ceramics at Kongu reveal an identical method of vessel repair (Figure 21), a link between the two forms that equates them, rather than distinguishing them as separate entities made from dissimilar materials. Thus the Inuit at Kongu import a novel object, but incorporate it into the household in a traditional manner. The incorporation of ceramic hollowwares indicates incorporation of European materials, but on the Inuit's terms. This incorporation of ceramics indicates the unique and entangled nature of the contact period. Ceramic hollowware vessels at Kongu are indeed representative of the true, hybrid form.

A

B Artefact #3078, #2595, #2584



C Artefact #2364, #81, #2348



D Artefact #2841/#2809 refit

A Refit soapstone pot with drilled repair holes from Thule site of IgCx-3.

B - D Fragments of hollowware ceramic from Kongu (IgCv-7) with similar drilled repair holes. Both items were curated and repaired in the same manner, regardless of base material.

Figure 21: Drilled ceramic fragments from Kongu

Mean ceramic dates

The mean ceramic dates generated for the two households at IgCv-7 are as follows: 1839-1841 for the eastern portion, 1837 for the western. Table 7 below contains the calculations for Kongu:

Table 7: IgCv-7 mean ceramic dates

East IgCv-7 Ceramic Mean Date

Decorative Type	Production Range	Mean Date	Frequency	Product
Plain white refined earthenware	1780-1885	1832.5	30	54975
Yellowware	1840-1885	1862.5	19	35387.5
Transfer print	1815-1885	1850	11	20350
Scottish spongepainted	1840-1875	1857.5	2	3715
Handpainted monochromatic	1780-1865	1822.5	1	1822.5
Annular/slipware	1790-1870	1830	26	47580
Molded	1840-1885	1862.5	1	1862.5
		Totals	**90**	**165692.5**

165692.5/90 = 1841.03 mean date
(vessels substituted for sherds = 1839.6)

West IgCv-7 Ceramic Mean Date

Decorative Type	Production Range	Mean Date	Frequency	Product
Plain white refined earthenware	1780-1885	1832.5	99	181417.5
Yellowware	1840-1885	1862.5	9	16762.5
Transfer print	1815-1885	1850	53	98050
Flow Blue	1840-1870	1855	12	22260
Scottish spongepainted	1840-1875	1857.5	5	9287.5
Sponged/spattered	1770-1860	1815	3	5445
Engine-turned/roulette	1770-1885	1827.5	7	12792.5
Handpainted monochromatic	1780-1865	1822.5	6	10935
Handpainted polychromatic	1795-1865	1830	3	5490
Annular/slipware	1790-1870	1830	62	113460
		Totals	**259**	**475900**

475900/259 = 1837.5 mean date
(vessels substituted for sherds = 1837.8)

The mean ceramic dates generated by the formula for the contemporaneous Labrador Inuit sites are as follows: Komaktorvik 1- circa 1832-1833, Tuglavina – circa 1836, and Ikkusik – circa 1832. While these are mean dates, they can be interpreted as representing possible occupational ranges for the sites in this study. This means that the sites may have all been occupied within the same decade. Mean dates are also integral for calculating Miller's ceramic indices.

Once the mean ceramic dates were established for the contemporaneous northern Labrador Inuit sites, these dates were used to calculate Miller's ceramic index values to establish the relative economic status of the sites. Table 8 contains the index calculations. The ceramic index was applied to each assemblage as follows:

1. The mean ceramic date was calculated using a modified version of South's (1977) calculation.
2. The closest date to the ceramic mean date was then used in calculating the index values.
3. 8-inch plate size values were used as an English standard, as well as cups referred to as "London sized" (Miller 1991: 15). Handled and unhandled cup index values were averaged in order to include as many forms as possible. Where necessary, simple forms of cup index values were used, again in order to accommodate more of the assemblage.
4. To incorporate as many vessels as possible, sherd counts were also used. This modification to the calculation has been proved reliable through other studies (see McBride and McBride 1987; Spencer-Wood 1987). An average index value is calculated for each decorative type through averaging the particular index value given for each ceramic form.
5. Calculations according to vessel form were only used on the more complete assemblages from IgCv-7.
6. Sherd counts were used when comparing IgCv-7 results to those of the other three contemporaneous Inuit sites in order to incorporate as many vessels as possible.
7. Again, in order to incorporate as many vessels as possible, a category for unidentified hollowware was created for vessel forms from IgCv-7. This number was generated through averaging the index values given for cups and bowls only.
8. Unless the ceramic type was identified as creamware, all other plain refined white earthenware fragments were removed from the calculation, as they would have a homogenizing effect on the mean index value (McBride and McBride 1987).

Small plain REW fragments in the assemblages are likely fragments of larger, decorative vessels and are thus already accounted for in the calculation.

9. Decorative types such as yellowware and rim-lined refined earthenwares have no consistent index values, or no index values at all, so they were also removed from this part of analysis.

Table 8: Determination of Miller's ceramic index

Site	Type	Count	Index Value	Counts x Index Values	Total Count	Average Index Value (sum/total)
lgCv-7 House 7	Transfer Print	11	2.81			
(East)	Sponged/Stamped	2	1.40			
	Hand painted	1	1.82			
	Annular ware/Slipware	26	1.53	75.31	40	**1.9**
lgCv-7 East vessel substituted for sherds: 1.73 index value						
lgCv-7 House 2	Transfer Print	53	2.97			
(West)	Flow Blue	12	3.14			
	Sponged/Stamped	8	1.40			
	Hand painted	9	1.89	320.58	146	**2.2**
	Annular ware/Slipware	64	1.52			
lgCv-7 West vessels substituted for sherds: 2.1 index value						
lhCw-1 House 2	REW Plain	7	1.10			
Komaktorvik 1	Transfer Print	4	2.89			
	Flow Blue	1	3.09			
	Black Basalt	1	6.00	37.85	18	**2.1**
	Hand painted	5	1.90			
ldCr-1 House 5	CC Plain	3	1.11			
Tuglavina	Transfer Print	7	2.94			
	Flow Blue	3	3.14			
	Sponged/Stamped	3	1.40	50.11	24	**2.1**
	Hand painted	3	1.66			
	Annular ware/Slipware	5	1.52			

The values generated by sherd count all fall within a reasonably close range (in order of relative rank):

Kongu (IgCv-7), House 2 – **2.2.**
Komaktorvik 1 (IhCw-1), House 2 - **2.1**
Tuglavina site (IdCr-1), House 5 – **2.1**
Kongu (IgCv-7), House 7- **1.9**

The spread of index values (1.9-2.2) shows no great disparities between the four households regardless of proximity to the open coast or the Moravian missions and southern traders. Sites such as Komaktorvik 1 (IhCw-1) or the Tuglavina site at Saglek (IdCr-1) are at no greater advantage socio-economically than Kongu in regards to acquisition of ceramic decorative types. The trade networks are such that even the most geographically remote villages have access to ceramics and a variety of other European goods.

If the index values are calculated for vessel type (for Kongu in particular), the values expressed show a different patterning as shown in Table 9:

Table 9: Average index value by vessel form for IgCv-7

Site	Bowl	Cup	Plate
IgCv-7 House 7 (West)	1.2	2.8	2.9
IgCv-7 House 2 (East)	1.2	1.8	2.7

The lowest index values are generated through bowl assemblages due to the utilitarian nature of the vessel form. In Miller's estimation (1991: 5), the highest expenditure values are generally expressed through tea and coffee wares. The abundance

of tea and coffee ware has been interpreted to indicate higher socio-economic status and wealth (Spencer-Wood and Heberling 1987: 70). For example, the IgCv-7 West vessel count used in the index calculation contained 20 cups out of 44 total vessels – representing 46% of the entire vessel assemblage. Therefore, House 7 may be interpreted as a higher socio-economic household than House 2 by Miller's calculations.

Competitive consumption of tea and coffee wares likely also occurs because of the decorative nature of such wares. Unlike utilitarian bowls, tea and coffee wares were frequently displayed as status objects within European and American households (Spencer-Wood 1987: 352). Such wares may have functioned the same in Inuit households – although this presupposes that the Inuit household regarded decorative ceramics in the same manner as the European or American household. While flatwares rarely occur in the Kongu assemblage, their relative status in the index is high due to their decorative nature (all are transfer printed wares).

Furthermore, considering that the ceramic index values are only meaningful when ranked in order – for comparison purposes, the index values generated for the four northern Labrador Inuit sites are compared to those generated from 11 other American, early nineteenth century sites by Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987: 69). Table 10 provides these index values.

Interesting patterns emerge that situate the Inuit households in regards to economic power and position. While Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987) never intended their study to be used as a baseline for socio-economic status, I would argue that cursory examination of the Inuit households versus American ones indicates some value as an economic indicator. Superficially, the reader can position the Inuit of Kongu in the

Table 10: Ceramic index values for nineteenth-century American households

Household Type	Ceramic Index Value
Merchant/Planter	2.3-2.7
Glassworker	1.9
Plantation overseer	1.9
Farmer or Labourer	1.3-1.8
Factory worker	1.3-1.8
Slave or freed slave	1.3-1.8

ranks of nineteenth-century economic status. This is merely meant as an exercise to situate the Inuit household within an outside context. In relation to these nineteenth-century American households, the values expressed at the Inuit sites are greater than index values for farmer and factory-worker households, and lower than those expressed for planter and merchant households. The range calculated for Labrador Inuit households falls within the range of middle-to-upper middle class glassworkers and plantation overseers. The Inuit households at Kongu had some measure of wealth and expressed it through incorporating imported European wares such as ceramics.

5.2 Clay pipe analysis

The IgCv-7 assemblage produced 124 measurable pipestem fragments. Of these, 13 fragments are 5/64", constituting 10% of the total measurable pipestem collection. A full 90% - or 111 fragments of the measurable total - are 4/64". According to Harrington's (1978) chart, while a small aspect of the assemblage falls into the 1710-1750 range, the bulk of the Kongu material falls in the 1750-1800 date range. The ceramic mean dates suggested occupations in the early to mid nineteenth century for Kongu, so dates produced through Harrington's pipe chronology are reasonably concordant.

Binford's (1962) and Hanson's (1969) Formula Results

As mentioned previously, the vast majority of pipestems from Kongu cluster around 4/64". The assemblage incorporates all measurable pipestems from the eastern and western portion of the site. No attempt was made to calculate dates from distinct areas of the site, as the majority of the measurable stems were recovered from the western portion. Measurable pipestem bore diameter frequency and products are presented in Table 11 below.

Table 11: Bore diameters of measurable pipestems in IgCv-7 assemblage

Bore Diameter (/64")		# of Fragments	Product
5	x	13	65
4	x	111	444
Totals		124	509

If Binford's formula of Y = 1931.85 – (38.26X) is applied to the Kongu assemblage, the result is a date of 1775. Using Hanson's non-linear formula of Y = 2026.12 – (58.97X) ± (2s)(22.50), a virtually identical result is obtained. Both calculations provide a date in the latter part of the eighteenth century, which can be reasonably assumed to be within the range of early occupation for the site of Kongu. Some aspects of the ceramic assemblage bolster the late eighteenth century occupation hypothesis, as does documentary evidence of historic occupation of Nachvak Fiord.

Identifiable Tobacco Pipes

Within the Kongu and three contemporaneous northern Inuit assemblages, fragments of pipe bowls and stems provide key information in regards to identifying pipe

manufacturers and potential date ranges. One bowl fragment bears the partial name of "...(U?)TTON" incluse on the back of the bowl (Figure 22, item B). This may relate to the maker known as "Sutton" - one William Sutton specifically - who was listed as London clay pipe manufacturer circa 1836 (Oswald 1975: 146). Another potentially identifiable tobacco pipe manufacturer from the Kongu and northern Labrador collections is the one associated with the "TD" incluse mark.

The "TD" maker's mark occurs on one bowl fragment from Kongu (Figure 22, item A) and on another, better preserved specimen at the Ikkusik site (artefact number 919). According to Oswald (1975), pipe manufacturers associated with the "TD" initials include Thomas Duggan (1805-1825; associated with the HBC), Thomas Duggan (1826-32; also HBC), Thomas Davis (circa 1828), and Thomas Davidson and Co. (1869-1882). McDougall's in Scotland and various other Glasgow manufacturers also made a variety of "TD" pipes. By 1900, there were at least five firms producing forty-two varieties of "TD" marked pipes (Walker 1983).

According to Gaulton, "TD" pipebowls with incluse marks on the back of the bowl, as well as moulded onto the heel, appear in the archaeological assemblages from the Ferryland site (CgAf-2), on the Avalon Penninsula of Newfoundland (plough zone, Area G) and may refer to London pipe manufacturer Thomas Dormer circa 1748-70 (Alexander 1983, Gaulton 1999, Oswald 1975). These pipes are also part of the archaeological assemblages at the Fortress of Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Walker 1983), Caleb Pusey House in Pennsylvania (Alexander 1983), and the Hudson's Bay Company site of Bellevue Farm in Washington (Pfeiffer 1983).

The association of "TD" with the Hudson's Bay Company offers the potential for northern Inuit communities to have acquired the pipes through trade with the HBC posts located in the western region of Ungava Bay. Thomas Dormer appears in the HBC inventory records of 1754-1756. Thomas Duggin also appears spanning almost three decades with recognized association with the HBC (Oswald 1975).

Five of the pipe fragments from Kongu also have initials moulded onto each side of the spur: "I" on the left side, and "F" on the right (Figure 22, item C). These initials also occur on two other specimens: one from Komaktorvik 1 (artefact number 1987), and the other from the Tuglavina site (artefact number 233). Like the "TD" pipes, there again seems to be some correlation among available pipes in northern Labrador, as similar pipes are found throughout the four assemblages. According to Oswald (1975: 136), the initials may be attributed to the following London pipe makers from the 19th century (date attribution in brackets): John Ford II (1805-1865) and (1831-1850), James Fisher (1832), James Frost (1836), Jesse Ford (1836-1877), Jesse Ford and Thomas (1840-1850) or Mrs Jan Fischer (1868-1899).

While any of these falls within a reasonable range of site occupation dates for Kongu, it is John Ford II (1805-1865) and (1831-1850) who is of particular interest here because he also appears in Hudson's Bay Company documents as a supplier from 1833-1835. Again, tantalizing in the context of material culture acquisition. Perhaps the northern Labrador Inuit by-passed the Moravian settlements altogether and procured their pipes from the two HBC posts that were active in Ungava Bay.

A "TD" incluse mark on pipebowl fragment. Possibly Thomas Dormer of HBC association circa 1754-1756? (Gaulton 1999; Oswald 1975). A better preserved specimen also exists in the Ikkusik (IdCr-2) assemblage.

B "...tton" incluse mark on pipebowl. Possibly "Sutton": William Sutton circa 1836 (Oswald 1975).

C Molded "I" and "F" on spur. Possibly John Ford II, circa 1833-1835, supplier to the HBC (Oswald 1975). This particular pipe also appears at the Komaktovik I site (IhCw-1) as well as at the Tuglavina site (IdCr-1).

D-H Various decorated, fluted and molded pipe fragments. Manufacturer unknown.

Figure 22: Tobacco pipe fragments from Kongu

Historic Scottish references to clay tobacco pipes occur in the seventeenth century and were often prominent in funerary custom of the day. Scotland flourished as a centre of pipe production in the nineteenth-century, with Glasgow and Edinburgh being the prime manufacturing locales (Walker 1983). The Tuglavina site produced a marked stem from the Mackenzie manufacturers (IdCr-1 – artefact number 230). Gallagher (1987) has identified three generations of the Mackenzie pipe makers in Edinburgh and their production range covers the dates from 1862-1915. It seems reasonable that the nineteenth-century manufacturing date would correspond to the pipestem from the Tuglavina site.

Another stem fragment from the Tuglavina site has the letters "Fio…" "S" and the word "Depose" (artefact number 119); these are all indicative of the French pipe manufacturing firm known as Fiolet. This mark – usually impressed on the stem near the bowl juncture – in full reads: "L. Fiolet/a St. Omer/Depose". This particular firm was established in the late seventeenth century, but the company flourished into the mid-nineteenth century, producing nearly 30 million pipes per annum in 1200 distinct shapes and forms (Walker 1983: 30).

Analysing the tobacco pipes from all four northern Labrador Inuit sites provides some interesting information about northern trade networks. Given their temporal and spatial proximity, it seems plausible to assume that the same network connects the sites. Again, whether this occurs due to Inuit middlemen who transported wares to the northern sites, or through more direct contact with HBC posts is a matter for debate. Families moving back and forth between the fiords may also account for the presence of identical materials. Kaplan (1983: 741) mentions HBC documentation that suggests families from

Komaktorvik 1 may have also resided on Nachvak Fiord. As the four sites contain evidence of pipes of the same manufacture, and some of those pipes have direct links to the HBC's manufacturers, it seems likely that some of the European goods were acquired from sources other than the Moravian missions. The individual families that resided at these more northern sites may have made the deliberate decision to bypass the proselytizing Moravians.

The Fort George/Big River post journal for 1838-1839 records the recruitment of a local Inuit by the name of Moses as an intermediary for customer relations between the Inuit and the HBC (HBCA 1M55: B.77/a/12). The HBC tirelessly promoted good relations between their posts and local Inuit merchants and buyers. The reader should also recall Brice-Bennett's (1981) assertion that Moravian conversions declined in the 1830's on account of the HBC posts opening to the west on Ungava Bay. While the Inuit may have traded with the Moravians, goods could also be imported and acquired through the HBC – often at competitive prices and on credit.

Chapter 6: Bourdieu's *Doxa*: Interpreting orthodoxy and heterodoxy at Kongu

Now that the ceramic and tobacco pipes assemblages have been analysed and interpreted as archaeological specimens, they can be placed within a broader theoretical framework. This chapter incorporates the ceramics and pipes within a framework based on Pierre Bourdieu's (1990; 2005) concept of *doxa.*

Bourdieu defined *doxa* as practical beliefs – the "…pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense" (1990: 68). For Bourdieu, *doxa* are the instilled, unconscious, enacted beliefs and values – the "common sense" that all of us learn and live by. For individuals, these rules and common sense are taught and learned, endorsed, and informed throughout one's lifetime. But in a contact setting, these rules become mutable, flexible, questionable and subject to recontextualization. In culture contact settings, individuals on both sides of the encounter have the unique capacity to uphold, question, bend, break or manipulate the rules of everyday existence. Identity is thus put in flux, and through this flux, new identities – hybrid or entangled – are borne.

Ceramics and tobacco pipes come from a very different historic context prior to their incorporation into Inuit society and households. They belong to a very different *doxa* – the orthodoxy of European society. To understand what these particular items may have meant to the Inuit, one must first enquire about what they may have meant to the European. Once those items were incorporated into the homes of Inuit individuals, they may have perpetuated the same meaning, reflected a new meaning entirely (heterodoxy), or expressed a hybrid meaning. This chapter explores the European orthodoxy of ceramics, tea, pipes and tobacco and the potential Inuit heterodoxy regarding such aspects of material culture.

6.1 European orthodoxy - Tea and ceramics

For the European household, tea was first the orthodoxy of the Chinese prior to becoming enmeshed in European, and particularly English, society. The Chinese were known to have consumed tea as early as the sixth century B.C, with plantations in the Szechwan and Hubei provinces (Pettigrew 2001). The stimulant tea was introduced into the European household much later; the first documented mention of "chai" occurs in a Venetian text of the sixteenth century. But it was the Portuguese and the Dutch who were initially at the forefront of the tea import business with imports coming from as far as Macao, Java and the Canton provinces (Moxham 2003; Pettigrew 2001). Tea entered the upper echelons of English society in the middle of the seventeenth century, and was lauded for medicinal uses. By the eighteenth century, tea had filtered through every layer of English society and even house servants had wages adjusted to include a tea allowance (Pettigrew 2001: 52).

With the founding of the East India Company, England was assured a constant supply from China, Assam and Ceylon. By the late seventeenth century, Britain was importing almost 14 000 lbs of tea per annum, and by 1750, the total had increased to almost five million lbs. The latter figure does not include the smuggled, tax-free variety (Moxham 2003:24). Tea became more than just a stimulant with substantial caffeine content. It became a wider signifier of genteel social custom, culture, refinement and leisure. Teawares were listed in probate inventories as being displayed in private cupboards or boudoirs in the fashionable seventeenth-century European household.

Tea and its social connotations resulted in the reconfiguration of both private and public space. Public space in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England was

reconfigured to accommodate tea consumption with the flourishing of the coffee house. These were the popular social destination for the middle to upper class English male. The tea garden was the social, public equivalent for women and children in the mid-eighteenth century (Forrest 1973: 181). Interior, feminine private space in the home was also re-configured to incorporate the English version of the Japanese tea ceremony (Peck 2005: 116).

Social reformers of the late eighteenth century saw this ostentatious display as a social evil once such practices filtered into the homes of the lower classes (George 1965). By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, tea and coffee denoted leisure and hospitality (Richards 1999: 132). Ceramics had become a fashionable accessory, the popularity of the tea service ushered in a new era of conspicuous ceramic consumption. Ceramic paraphernalia associated with presenting a proper, domestic tea included tea cups or bowls, saucers, storage canisters, trays, teapots, and a variety of vessels to hold milk, sugar and the dregs of tea (Young 2003: 93). English magazines of the era lamented that the expenditure and maintenance of a proper tea table could cost more than providing for two children and a nurse (Young 2003: 90).

The valued status of tea and ceramics were entwined in seventeenth-century England with the recalibration of social rank. Goods otherwise categorized as exotic and lavish were incorporated into society as necessary staples (Peck 2005: 9). Jacobean England saw the import of Chinese porcelain and the introduction of silver and gilt mounts for china. In the latter part of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century there was a public adoption of the buffet or china cupboard for ostentatious display of ceramics (Peck 2005: 50).

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the typical middle-class English household utilized a variety of serving paraphenalia, including tin and salt glazed wares, pewter and wooden bowls and serving platters (Richards 1999). Ceramic cups likely entered the household prior to ceramic flatwares, as probate inventories of the eighteenth century frequently list wooden trenchers (Deetz 1996: 81). By the end of this period, ceramics were ubiquitous within all levels of society. The growth in popularity of tea and coffee wares had a dramatic effect on the British ceramics industry, and the consumption of ceramics of all types.

Ceramics can even be said to play a role in the reconfiguration of middle class architecture to accommodate the newly enacted social rituals. Houses of the eighteenth century incorporated social activity through the addition of drawing rooms, parlours and formal dining areas (Richards 1999: 105). Within the middle-class household, decorated ceramics were a signifier of refined manners, pleasure, and a greater participation in the luxury consumer market (Richards 1999: 96). Ceramics were also direct indicators of class, a new expression of materialism and socio-economic status (Barker 1997: 226).

Ceramic consumption patterns in the early nineteenth century suggest that the middle class English consumer preferred quantity and decorative value over form. Miller (1991: 16) posits that the consumer often purchased printed teawares without handles by the set, rather than invest in more expensive handled or fluted varieties of teawares.

6.2 Inuit heterodoxy – Tea and ceramics

According to Cabak and Loring (2000), there are a variety of reasons that tea was so readily incorporated into the Inuit lifestyle. It was not only a physical stimulant, but provided warming comfort and could potentially be used to bolster social interaction.

Thus the Inuit could use tea as a social ritual. In 1853, during his visit to a southern Labrador Inuit household, the Moravian Brother Kruth was amazed to find that the Inuit family greeted him with a proper tea, including fine cups, saucers, tea steeping in a china kettle, and biscuits (PA 1853 XXI: 17). Captain Cartwright, who resided in southern Labrador during the late eighteenth century (2003[1792]: 90), also remarked that upon visits to the Inuit women in their summer tents, the kettle was always on the boil. S. K. Hutton (1912), in the early twentieth century also noted that the Inuit had the kettle boiling continuously, and that it was one of few staples that Inuit hunters always incorporated into their gear when travelling by *komatik* (traditional dog-sled). The Inuit custom of tea was generally a weak brew sweetened with treacle (Hutton 1912).

Most importantly, the incorporation of tea into the Inuit household can be understood as an extension of already established foodways that focussed heavily on communal sharing and relationships. Thus while tea was a novel import with no real Inuit precedent, its incorporation into the Inuit household can be understood as perpetuating already ingrained Inuit *doxa*.

As for serving and food processing vessels, the Labrador Inuit household utilized a variety of materials during all stages of food preparation and presentation. Typically, soapstone pots were suspended over cooking lamps to prepare food. A variety of meats and oils were often served in wooden or skin bowls. Cups were predominantly manufactured out of wood, skin or baleen (Cabak and Loring 2000: 24). The replacement of wooden bowls with ceramic ones merely suggests a change in material form, not in habitual practice. Both are useful for food service and presentation. However, there is variation in durability and aesthetic value. Wood, skin or baleen cups and bowls were

hardy, whereas ceramic was fragile. Considerably more care would be needed to preserve ceramic hollowware.

Meals were often communal in nature, as described in Captain Cartwright's journal of the late eighteenth century. Cartwright describes the typical dining scene in an Inuit community of summer tents. He notes that the people live "...together in common..." and shared various foodstuffs such as fish, seal, waterfowl and a recently procured polar bear that was equally shared amongst the inhabitants of several tents (Cartwright 2003[1792]: 86). Hollowwares would have likely been the vessels of choice for serving and sharing meals.

Ceramic bowls would have been utilized in much the same communal manner as the traditional wood and baleen vessels. Ceramic mugs would have replaced the skin, baleen or wooden cups. The ceramics were more aesthetically pleasing perhaps, but still able to hold water – or tea. Thus, there was no vast disruption to traditional Inuit foodways through incorporation of ceramic hollowware vessels. The Inuit of Kongu merely incorporated new ceramic materials that echoed traditional forms. This seemingly heterodoxical action asserted prior Inuit orthodoxies.

The Moravian mission stores list a variety of wooden bowls in various sizes in their order lists of the late eighteenth century (R35: 54442; 54446). Infrequently, ceramics and earthenwares are mentioned, but never in great quantity – "japanned" (lacquered) or tinned vessels are mentioned with more frequency. The Moravians ordered ceramic vessels in a variety of forms; Brother Bourquin in Nain standardized the ordering of such vessels in German with the English equivalent in 1878. Although this was much later date than the probable occupation at Kongu, the inventory lists a wide

variety of vessels and ceramic forms: mugs for tea and coffee with saucers, shallow plates, soup plates, basins and bowls, jugs, creampots, yellow bowls of 6", 13" and 14" diameter, wash basins and chamber pots (R26: 38508-9). It is reasonable to assume that a similar range of vessels and ceramic forms were part of the Moravian inventory during the occupation at Kongu.

Unfortunately, the HBC account books provide very little information regarding ceramic vessel forms or decorative types. The Fort George inventory for 1806 contains a list of a dozen vessels (2 quart basins, 1 pint, and ½ pint vessels) but does not distinguish them as ceramic per se.

The archivist from the HBC Archive in Winnipeg suggested an interesting theory regarding post ceramics. According to Kathy Mallett (personal communication 2005), the majority of HBC goods were actually routed to one of three major centres: York Factory, Moose River and Red River. These were the three destinations for all goods exported from England. Trade goods were then transported by boat and overland to various other stations in the northern department. This suggests that a standard order may have been shipped to the three major centres and then split for re-distribution to other northern posts. This would explain why the post journals and account books seem lacking in some kinds of supplies (e.g. pipes and ceramics). Pre-determined allotments may have shown up annually from the three major distribution centres in northern Canada, and not been recorded in post logs and inventories.

While the archaeological evidence of transfer printed white earthenwares can be traced directly to the HBC and affiliated posts in other parts of Canada, the actual post account books from Labrador and Ungava produce little relevant documentary evidence.

There is sporadic mention of earthenware plates, jugs and vessels, but not in the quantities that match their archaeological occurrence.

Interesting patterns have emerged in other archaeological studies regarding the Inuit and their incorporation of European ceramics. Cabak and Loring's (2000) study of the Nain midden presented them with a stamped hollowware assemblage that comprised 95% of the stamped earthenwares category with only 5% of the assemblage dedicated to stamped flatwares and plates. When reviewing the entire ceramic assemblage from the Nain midden, hollowware forms in general comprise 57% of the ceramics. Teawares, as a category of hollowware, represent 33% of the ceramic assemblage for the latter part of the eighteenth century, and 22% of the nineteenth century assemblage (Cabak and Loring 2000: 24). This is a marked contrast to European and Euro-American ceramic assemblages that often produce upwards of 90% flatware, suggesting individually discrete and compartmentalized meals (Cabak and Loring 2000: 25).

Ceramics could also be incorporated in novel ways that do not correspond to orthodox European practice, but rather suggest heterodox Inuit practice. Cabak and Loring (2000) discuss Inuit drinking beverages directly from the teakettle spout. The kettle contained the liquid and protected it from spilling in the open boat. Therefore, the traditional European use of the kettle as strictly for brewing purposes is turned on its head. Here the Inuit used the kettle as though it were a travel mug. The Nain assemblage also included hollowware ceramic specimens with charred blubber deposits that indicated they had been incorporated into Inuit material culture as lamps (Cabak and Loring 2000: 24).

The starkest contrast of ceramics with traditional Inuit material culture is the abundance of decorative and aesthetically vivid prints. Not only would these ceramics have signalled incorporation of a very different aesthetic, they would also have signified wealth and prestige. So while the Inuit of Kongu incorporated ceramic vessels that echoed the more traditional hollowware forms, they also very clearly incorporated ceramics that would have set them apart from their neighbours. Thus ceramics could reflect both orthodox and heterodox Inuit practice.

6.3 European orthodoxy – Tobacco and smoking

While the smoking of hemp and other plants occurs throughout the Old World, tobacco and the tobacco pipe originate in the Americas. Explorers of the Americas and colonists returning from the failed Virginia settlement were the most likely vectors for the import of tobacco to seventeenth-century England (Dunhill 1954). *Nicotiana tabacum* originated in Brazil and was the most common species of tobacco cultivated. *Nicotiana Rustica,* referred to as the Turkish or Syrian variety, was another cultivated species (Oswald 1975)

Seeds of the tobacco plant were sown in England by the end of the sixteenth century and the Elizabethan gentleman was well equipped with a variety of smoking paraphernalia, including pipes, smoking tobacco in ornamental boxes (often up to a pound at a time), tongs, scoops, picks and knives (Dunhill 1954). England began wholesale importation of tobacco through the Spanish colonies, but the colony of Virginia eventually became the main supplier, producing half a million pounds for export in 1627 (Dunhill 1969: 165). Despite James I's public condemnation of tobacco, pipe

manufacturers in England were incorporated in 1619, and tobacco use flourished (Dunhill 1969).

Like tea, tobacco was initially lauded for its purported medicinal benefits, such as aiding digestion, stimulating brain function, preserving sight and aiding in the dispersal of insects and vermin through smoke exhalation (Hart 1970: 15). Tobacco consumption was also understood to balance the humours of the body. But tobacco use was soon reclassified as recreational rather than medicinal in nature, and narcotic addiction, including tobacco use, became institutionalized in England (Pollard 2004). Later, during the seventeenth-century reign of Charles I, tobacco became the King's exclusive monopoly, and he went so far as to ban Virginians from exporting tobacco abroad (Hart 1970: 81).

The tobacco pipe is found in archaeological assemblages from the Americas prior to 2500 B.C., and tobacco was used by almost every indigenous culture. Smoking and related tobacco paraphernalia connoted good health and pleasure and was also incorporated into religious ritual (Gately 2001). The tobacco pipe was likely imported to England during the sixteenth century. Enjoyed by both sexes, late Elizabethan smoking technology consisted of molded clay pipes with stems twelve or more inches in length. These early clay pipes had a ladle shape (Dunhill 1969; Oswald 1975). Pipes of white ball or kaolin clay were first produced in England during the late sixteenth century, giving rise to England as the first organized clay pipe manufacturing industry (Oswald 1975).

During the seventeenth century, London remained the primary manufacturing centre. The pipe still had a pronounced lean, but the bowls were larger and often included a heel for balancing. Pipe manufacturers often incluse-stamped initials, motifs, and

names into the pipes, so chronology and individual manufacturers are recognizeable during this era (Dunhill 1969). Despite tobacco originating in the Americas, the tobacco pipe manufacturing industry produced a large portion of pipes for export to the colonies as early as the seventeenth century (Higgins 1995). So while tobacco originated elsewhere, within a short time English society had thoroughly adopted tobacco pipes and the act of smoking, and tobacco had become engrained in English culture.

The eighteenth century saw the emergence of an upright, wide-mouthed bowl, a much smaller heel or spur, and decorative bowl forms and manufacturer marks were added (Oswald 1975). Public houses and taverns offered clay pipes free of charge to patrons, often refiring them for hygienic purposes. Some public houses distributed as many as 14 000 pipes annually (Hilton 2000: 49).

The eighteenth century marks a decline in tobacco smoking on account of the introduction of snuff, a fashionable method of consuming tobacco popular with at the French court. Snuff becomes the method of choice for tobacco consumption among the upper classes, while the professional and working classes clung to the now ubiquitous pipe in households, public inns and taverns (Dunhill 1954; Tatman 1994).

In the nineteenth century tobacco sold for between 3*d*-5*d* per ounce, or 3-5 cents (Hilton 2000: 49). Characteristic pipe forms became more slender and thinner overall. Molded decoration and the marketing of highly decorative pipe forms reached a peak in the 1850's (Tatman 1994).

Tobacco and smoking throughout the centuries, in England, mainland Europe and the colonies, signified social bonding, culture, leisure, hospitality and community. One would light the tobacco in a sense of camaraderie in a broader social setting.

6.4 Inuit heterodoxy: Tobacco and smoking

It is possible that Labrador Inuit had prior knowledge of tobacco consumption practices through contact with indigenous groups who had associates further south. But tobacco and the pipe became a significant part of Inuit material culture only with contact with Basque whalers and other European visitors to the Labrador coast (Dunhill 1969: 74). The clay tobacco pipe soon after become ingrained in Inuit material culture. Hutton (1912) remarks that battered and stumpy tobacco pipes were often present. Women and men both consumed tobacco, and the women often carried tobacco pipes in their boots. Tobacco smoke also served a practical purpose in Labrador; Hutton (1912) remarks on the use of tobacco smoke to thin clouds of the dreaded and seemingly ever-present mosquito – an observation made decades before by Moravian missionaries (PA 1830 XI: 379).

The Moravian Periodical Accounts include frequent mention of the Inuit desire for tobacco, which was a much sought-after commodity when Inuit visited the mission stations. Inuit patience with Moravian sermonizing may have been directed at the tobacco often distributed at the end (PA 1832 XII: 256; 1833 XII: 452). Inuit women often sent hand-sewn tobacco pouches as thank you gifts to their benefactors in England (PA 1846 XVIII: 79).

In the order lists for the various mission stations on the Labrador coast, tobacco is a product that was frequently requested. Review of Moravian inventories provides clear evidence of the growing desire for tobacco. In the lists for Hopedale, a half-hundredweight (roughly 60 pounds) was ordered in 1788 (R25: 37273). In a year's time, the order was upped to include 336 rolls of "pigtail" tobacco, a form of thinly twisted

tobacco that could be chewed (R25: 37246). According to MacLaughlin (2004: 4), a pound of pigtail tobacco generally consisted of five or six bundled rolls, giving us a rough weight of 70 pounds for 336 rolls. In 1794 the order was again increased to 60 lbs of pigtail tobacco, combined with a full hundredweight (112 pounds) of smoking tobacco (R25: 37252). By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Hopedale store was requesting eleven gross of tobacco pipes for inventory per annum, or almost 1600 pipes (R25: 37303).

In the 1830's, the Hebron mission order lists request roughly four casks of roll tobacco per annum (no weight recorded), and six casks of smoking tobacco. Also included in the ledger are orders for four gross (close to 600) tobacco pipes (R33: 50848; 50849; 50857). Tobacco pipe lengths could only be discerned in two orders by the Okak store during the 1850's, both of which requested pipes of 16"-18" inches in length (R35: 54466; 54468). Although pipes started out long they often did not remain so. Historically, there is frequent mention of the "stubby" pipes of the Inuit (Hawkes 1916; Washburne 1940). No doubt it was easier to transport a pipe that was broken into a more acceptable length of roughly four inches or so. Tobacco and pipes were some of the items that the Inuit most desired of the mission stores, and the archival documents show that the Moravians were more than willing to provide access.

With potential links to the HBC through the pipe fragments in the Kongu assemblage, the historical documents and order lists of the HBC posts also provide us with relevant data on the amount of tobacco consumed by the Inuit and Innu. In the Ungava Bay region, both Fort Chimo and the Big River post were operational during the early to mid-nineteenth century. The Fort Chimo accounts for 1831-1833 show listings

for tobacco in three forms: carrot, rolls and Irish. According to MacLaughlin (2004: 4), carrot tobacco was thickly bundled tobacco wrapped in linen and canvas with tapered ends. It came in a variety of lengths: one pound, one and a half pound and three pounds. Roll tobacco was generally tobacco leaves tightly spun into rolls and spooled around a wooden shaft. Unfortunately, no definition could be located for Irish tobacco. The count is roughly 1400 lbs. in total if all of the various forms are summed together (1M436:B.38/d/3). Pipes were ordered by the dozen and the same three-year range produces a total inventory of almost 1200 pipes (HBCA 1M436 - B.38/d/3).

The account books for Fort George (Big River) have spotty references to tobacco and pipes, but the post journals reveal the importance of tobacco as a trade item for both the Innu and the Inuit. The post staff ordered their own personal supplies on separate inventories. The journal entry for June 16th, 1807 reveals that one of the first orders of business in regards to setting up the post was building a cellar, "...for the reception of pipes, hogsheads, and for the Whale River business, and for storing empty goose-casks" (HBCA 1M55 – B.77/a/2: 10). That tobacco pipes were singled out as an integral part of an inventory that often included hundreds of items is certainly telling. The account books of Fort George also reveal the importance of tobacco. In the 1805-1806 inventory, the list reveals supplies of four varied forms of tobacco (HBCA 1M55 – B.77/a/1: 27):

Tobacco brazile 100 lbs
Brittish 40
Roll 40
Cut 14

The inventory for the Big River post in 1812 lists a remainder of 94 lbs. of Brazil tobacco and another 170 lbs. received from the factory (HBCA 1M481 - B.77/d/2).

Frequent in the inventories and orders are also listings for "japanned", or lacquered, tobacco boxes with burning glasses, which may be interpreted as storage boxes and pipes, or perhaps snuff boxes. The Periodical Accounts record that Inuit from the Ungava region crossed to the eastern coast of Labrador on a fairly frequent basis, and thus it seems likely that the Inuit from Ungava could export HBC goods east to the outer Labrador coast.

It is also interesting to note that while the Labrador Inuit adopted the smoking technologies imported by the European colonists and traders, inhabitants of the western Arctic imported the custom of smoking as it was practiced in Asia, complete with Asian-style tobacco pipes (Graburn et al. 1996; Hawkes 1916: 99). Thus, geography and ethnic affiliation influenced the incorporation of material culture. While western Arctic pipe forms reflect an Asian influence, they were often manufactured out of materials such as ivory and stone, and carry finely carved representations of hunting imagery and characteristic arctic animals (Dunhill 1969). Some of the pipes were also composite forms; ingeniously incorporating recycled materials such as modified cartridge shells and ivory mouthpieces (Nelson 1983).

Ethnographic assemblages such as Murdoch's collection from the Point Barrow, Alaska (Murdoch 1988) contain pipes of stone, willow stick, antler, ivory and metal that stylistically echo pipes of Asian origin. Tobacco, both chewing and smoking types, were known in Point Barrow from the early nineteenth century, and likely originated in Siberia and or the Bering Strait area. Nelson (1983) mentions the use of many types of tobacco for smoking, sniffing and chewing. Tree fungus ash and accumulated nicotine from pipestems was often mixed into the chewing tobacco mixture, creating a very strong

narcotic. Smoking-related paraphernalia incorporated into western Arctic material culture included pipes, snuff tubes, boxes for snuff, fungus ash and chewing tobacco, and tobacco pouches (Graburn et al. 1996; Murdoch 1988; Nelson 1983).

Tobacco also presents us with Inuit heterodoxy. The Periodical Accounts record that the Inuit staunched gaping wounds with a mixture of bear grease and tobacco (PA 1839 XV: 406). According to Hawkes (1916), the Inuit also incorporated tobacco into their rich funerary tradition; often leaving offerings of tobacco at the graves of the recently deceased.

Thus, through further interpretation of the archaeological record, we can discern that ceramics and tobacco pipes do not simply represent foreign material culture imported into the households at Kongu. While seemingly a part of European orthodoxy, we have to remember that ceramics and smoking were once novel imports to European communities as well. It is just a matter of scale and chronology. The Inuit incorporated ceramics and tobacco with the capability to reconfigure the meaning of these objects. It is through analysis of these intricate layers of meaning that we can begin to discern the truly hybrid nature of objects and the contact period.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

While European objects were integrated over time into traditional Inuit households, deeper examination reveals that items such as ceramics and tobacco pipes should not be considered signifiers of acculturation, but rather (re)configurations of Inuit material culture that represent a continuity of pre-existing Inuit forms and social behaviours. When considering material culture such as tea and ceramics, tobacco and smoking paraphernalia, the most persistent images that come to mind are those of the English parlour set for teatime, and the natty English gentleman smoker. While these fragments of material culture certainly seem deeply engrained in English custom and society, it is important to note that this was not always so. For the continental and English household, too, these items were also once considered to be novel. Only through time and incorporation into the everyday lives of the public do these items become enmeshed in the consumer psyche. So too for the Inuit; while sometimes incorporating goods in their predefined contexts, the Inuit also made novel choices and reconfigured their everyday manners, material culture and households.

Meskell and Preucel (2004) write that identity is persistently negotiated and manipulated under whatever opportunities are presented. For Bhabha (1994), Van Dommelen (2005) and others, it is this negotiation of "in-betweeness" that defines contact or colonial identity construction. Thus for the Inuit, the contact and colonial period on the Labrador coast provided opportunities to evaluate, solidify and modify Inuit identity, society and material culture. By incorporating colonial customs and traits, and continuing to perpetuate their more traditional ways, the Inuit in fact created a new cultural norm and

tradition (Van Dommelen 2005) – a hybrid or entangled form. These changes were realized in all aspects of Inuit daily life and identity.

By incorporating items such as ceramics and kaolin clay tobacco pipes, the Inuit not only embraced European material goods and their associated norms, but also were free to recontextualize such objects. Ceramics were incorporated into the Inuit household for their ostentatious and decorative values. A cupboard stocked with vibrant, decorated teawares and colourful ceramics demonstrated economic well-being and status. But while these ceramics may have been incorporated into the Kongu household as symbols of wealth and prestige, the residents of Kongu also took great care in choosing particular ceramic forms. A variety of ceramic forms were offered by both the HBC and the Moravian stores, yet the Inuit chose to incorporate predominantly hollowware forms. The adoption of ceramic hollowwares conforms to prior Inuit foodways. While they were definitely novel and colourful, the ceramic forms at Kongu were still directly connected to traditional Inuit hollowware serving forms of skin, baleen and wood. They were even repaired and curated in the same manner as soapstone lamps and pots.

Prior examinations of ceramic assemblages such as those from the Nain midden confirm that ceramics such as teacups were also recontextualized as lamps. These hollowware forms were easily repurposed as oil receptacles. Studies such as Cabak and Loring's (2000) provide evidence of Bhabha's "hybrid" or Thomas' "entangled" objects. Thus European materials were imported into the Inuit household as foreign yet recognizeable objects.

Tea was also an integral part of the Inuit list of provisions. While it provided warmth and caffeine, the Inuit also incorporated tea drinking as a social custom to

solidify community bonds. Associated commodities like tea were foreign imports, but also served to reinforce communal social behaviours of the Inuit. While tea can be understood as a social custom with strong ties to England, it also became ingrained in Inuit daily life.

Tobacco provided social opportunity and expression of community for the Inuit. Both Inuit males and females often imbibed tobacco. But for the Inuit, tobacco also served many other purposes. Smoking served the practical purpose of thinning mosquitoes and staunching wounds (PA 1830 XI: 379; PA 1839 XV: 406). The Inuit also incorporated tobacco into mortuary custom and ritual. Tobacco would often be left as an offering to the memory of the deceased (Hawkes 1916; Washburne 1940).

The assemblage from Kongu is also useful for understanding the relationship between culture contact and geographic location. The residents of Kongu were close enough to the mouth of Nachvak Fiord and the outer coastline to participate in the maritime trade, but far enough away to escape the persistent reach of the Moravians. The households at Kongu had access to trade networks and European goods, but also had the capability to hold the Europeans at arms length and thus spare themselves an array of colonial pressures.

Isolating fragments of the ceramic and pipe assemblage that may have direct links to the Hudson's Bay Company also provides us with an interesting anomaly. If through their geographic remoteness, the inhabitants of Kongu forged trade relationships with the HBC to the west, it can be interpreted as another strategy to avoid the Moravians. While the Inuit of Nachvak may have exercised their right to competitively shop for the best prices and merchandise, Nachvak was frequently mentioned in the Moravian Periodical

Accounts and carried the special designation of being particularly rebellious and disinterested in conversion (see Appendix 5). Those residing at Nachvak Fiord and elsewhere in northern Labrador were in the position of being able to exert control over what specific types of European goods were incorporated at the household level.

Both ceramics and tobacco pipes were integrated into Kongu households as staples, but both were also engaged in the negotiation of meaning. According to Rausing (1998), if archaeologists disentangle the meaning behind material culture, a more complicated and multi-scalar level of interpretation is possible. The residents of Kongu leave us with archaeological evidence of this complex, and negotiated identity.

Hopefully this thesis can serve as a model for future work on historic assemblages from Inuit sites on the Labrador coast. Future studies may seek to incorporate more northern Inuit historic period sites into the fold – potentially revealing even broader trade networks and relationships. Through comprehensive analysis of both the archaeological and documentary material, this study has proven that trade sources can be tracked effectively. Through tracing these identifiable trade goods – such as ceramics and tobacco pipes – the intricate nature of the post-contact era Inuit identity can be revealed.

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Appendix 1: Ceramics inventory for Kongu (minus undiagnostic REW fragments)

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
92	ET	1	2a	REW		body	blue stripe
96	ET	1	2a	REW-ANB		body	banded
600	ET	1	3a	TEW		body	white tinglaze
25	ET	1		REW-TP blue	F	body	blue transfer print "Daisy" script
127	ET	2	2a	REW-TP blue		body	blue transfer print
133	ET	2	2a	SGS	H	body	salt-glazed stoneware; wheel thrown
17	ET	2	ss	REW		body	
201	ET	3	2a	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware
641	ET	3	2b	REW	F	body	
2682	ET	3	2e	EW		body	incised lines
36	ET	3		REW-TP blue	F	body	refit to #1245; blue transfer print; plate
1118	ET	4	2a	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware; screen
1119	ET	4	2a	REW-ANCA	H	body	cabled/marbled slipware
1209	ET	4	2a	REW		lip	banded
1210	ET	4	2a	SW		body	mica. Iron oxide glaze
1211	ET	4	2a	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware
1212	ET	4	2a	REW	H	body	refit to #3453
1215	ET	4	2a	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print tartan; NW Quad screen
1218	ET	4	2a	REW-SCSP	H	rim	Scottish; refit to #2307;spongepainted w/ band
1219	ET	4	2a	REW-ANCA	H	body	cabled/marbled slipware
1222	ET	4	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; refit to #1548; bowl
1223	ET	4	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware, slipware white banded
1227	ET	4	2a	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware; screen
1228	ET	4	2a	CEW		body	
1235	ET	4	2a	REW	H	body	refit to #3453; SW Quad screen
1237	ET	4	2a	REW-ANB	H	rim	banded slipware;bowl
1534	ET	4	2a	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware; screen SE Quad
3450	ET	4	2a	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware; screen SW Quad

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
3451	ET	4	2a	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware; screen
3453	ET	4	2a	REW	H	body	drilled; refit to #1235/#1212
3480	ET	4	2a	REW		body	banded; screen
3538	ET	4	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; screen
1217	ET	4	2b	REW-SCSP		body	Scottish; refit to #2307; pink spongepainted
1239	ET	4	2b	REW	H	lip	cup
1536	ET	4	2b	REW		body	
1543	ET	4	2b	REW-ANCA		body	cabled/marbled slipware
1544	ET	4	2b	REW	H	body	
1548	ET	4	2b	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; refit to #1222; bowl
1551	ET	4	2b	REW-ANCA		body	cabled/marbled slipware
1555	ET	4	2b	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware
1556	ET	4	2b	REW-TP blue	H	lip	blue transfer print tartan; sugarbowl?
1559	ET	4	2b	TEW		body	French faience; dark red body w/ dark brown/white glaze
1810	ET	4	2b	REW-TP blue	F	body	blue transfer print; SW Quad screen; plate
1816	ET	4	2c	REW-ANCA		body	cabled/marbled slipware
3344	ET	4	3b	TEW	H	body	white tinglaze
1245	ET	5	1	REW-TP blue	F	body	refit to #36; blue transfer print; plate
1410	ET	5	1	REW-TP blue	F	body	refit to #2431; blue transfer print; plate
1411	ET	5	1	REW	H	body	drilled
1415	ET	5	1	REW	H	body	banded
1423	ET	5	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; refit to #1426; bowl
1426	ET	5	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; refit to #1423; bowl
1430	ET	5	2a	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware
2041	ET	5	2a	REW-MOC		body	brown mochaware
2431	ET	5	2a	REW-TP blue	F	lip	refit to #1410; blue transfer print ; plate
2484	ET	5	2a	CEW		body	red earthenware
2688	ET	5	2b	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware, light blue band
3454	ET	5	2b	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware
3534	ET	5	2b	REW-ANCA		body	cabled/marbled slipware
2693	ET	5	2c	REW		lip	
2699	ET	5	2c	REW		body	

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
2701	ET	5	2c	REW-molded		rim	molded floral
2704	ET	5	2c	REW	H	body	blue transfer print tartan
2886	ET	5	2c	REW	H	base	bowl
2889	ET	5	2c	REW-ANBCA		body	banded slipware, marbled/cabled
2897	ET	5	2c	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware
2898	ET	5	2c	REW-ANBCA	H	body	banded slipware, cable; bowl
2900	ET	5	2c	REW-ANBCA	H	lip	banded slipware, cable; refit to #2903; bowl
2903	ET	5	2c	REW-ANBCA	H	lip	banded slipware, cable; refit to #2900; bowl
2905	ET	5	2c	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; bowl
2906	ET	5	2c	REW-ANBCA	H	body	banded slipware, cable
2914	ET	5	2d	REW	H	lip	
3067	ET	5	2d	REW-ANB	H	lip	banded slipware; screen
3070	ET	5	2d	REW-ANCAMA	H	body	cabled/marbled slipware
3077	ET	5	2d	REW	H	body	
3078	ET	5	2d	REW-ANBCA	H	lip	drilled; banded slipware, marbled/cabled
3079	ET	5	2d	CEW		body	red earthenware
3089	ET	5	2d	REW-ANCA	H	lip	slipware, cabled; bowl
3090	ET	5	2d	REW-ANBCA	H	body	banded slipware,cabled; bowl
3091	ET	5	2d	REW--ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
3159	ET	5	2d	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware, light blue band; screen SW Quad
3161	ET	5	2d	REW-ANBCA	H	body	banded slipware, cable; bowl
3455	ET	5	2d	REW-TP green		body	green transfer print; SW Quad screen
9	WT	1	ss	REW	H	base	ointment jar?
10	WT	1	ss	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; refit to #79; bowl
53	WT	1	ss	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
87	WT	1	ss	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware
79	WT	2	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; refit to #10; bowl
75	WT	2	ss	REW-ENGT	H	body	refit to #3302; engine turned brown chequered; cup
81	WT	2	ss	REW-ENGT	H	rim	drilled; engine turned w/ herringbone roulette
255	WT	3	2a	REW-ANMA		body	slipware, marbled

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
47	WT	3	ss	REW-ENGT	H	body	engine turned
994	WTST1-test 1		2a	REW-TP blue	H	base	blue transfer print floral; refit to #3476/#3457; sugarbowl?
1003	WTST1-test 1		2a	REW- poly		body	hand painted motif
1075	WTST1-test 1		2a	REW-ENGT	H	rim	engine turned brown chequered; cup
1077	WTST1-test 1		2a	REW	H	lip	
1081	WTST1-test 1		2a	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; cup
1082	WTST1-test 1		2a	CEW	H	body	lt. brown glaze
3457	WTST1-test 1		2a	REW	H	base	refit to #994; sugarbowl?
1002	WTST1-test 1		2b	REW-ANB	H	lip	banded slipware
1063	WTST1-test 1		2b	REW	H	body	
1067	WTST1-test 1		2b	REW		body	banded
1276	WTST1-test 1		2b	REW		body	
1201	WTST2	1	2a	REW-TP blue	F	lip	blue transfer print; screen; plate
1330	WTST2	1	2a	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print greek key; cup
1333	WTST2	1	2a	SW	H	body	Normandy?
1337	WTST2	1	2a	REW		body	screeen
1353	WTST2	1	2a	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware, cable; bowl
1356	WTST2	1	2a	REW		body	drilled
1357	WTST2	1	2a	REW-ANB	H	lip	banded slipware
1364	WTST2	1	2a	REW		base	
1365	WTST2	1	2a	REW		base	banded
1369	WTST2	1	2a	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print landscape; cup
1371	WTST2	1	2a	REW		body	drilled; screen
1844	WTST2	1	2b	REW-SCSP	H	body	Scottish pink spongepainted
2103	WTST2	1	2b	REW	H	body	blue glazed
3476	WTST2	1	2b	REW	H	base	refit to #994; sugarbowl?
1186	WTST2	1	ss	REW		base	
1188	WTST2	1	ss	CEW		body	red earthenware
1624	WTST2	2	2a	REW- mono		body	blue hand painted motif
1626	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TP brown	F	base	transfer print brown; "Copeland"; refit to #1925; plate
1630	WTST2	2	2a	REW		body	sponged

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
1645	WTST2	2	2a	REW		lip	
1647	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TPFB	H	lip	transfer print flow blue; cup
1663	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TP brown	H	lip	brown transfer print brick; refit to #1472
1673	WTST2	2	2a	REW	F	base	
1677	WTST2	2	2a	REW		body	hand painted motif
1679	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TP turquoise	H	body	turquoise transfer print floral w/ figure; refit to #1730
1684	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print landscape; refit to #1737; cup
1688	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TP blue	H	lip	blue transfer print greek key; cup
1691	WTST2	2	2a	REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print; cup
1855	WTST2	2	2a	POR		body	doll neck?
1858	WTST2	2	2a	REW		body	banded
1868	WTST2	2	2a	REW		body	banded
1896	WTST2	2	2a	REW-ANB	H	body	refit to #2340/3473; banded slipware; bowl
3473	WTST2	2	2a	REW-ANB	H	body	refit to #1896/#2340; banded slipware; bowl
2050	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANMA		body	slipware, marbled
2051	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP blue	H	lip	blue transfer print; refit to #2364; cup
2056	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware
2058	WTST2	2	2b	REW	H	base	
2064	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bpwl
2069	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP blue		body	blue transfer print
2085	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANBMA		body	slipware, cabled
2087	WTST2	2	2b	REW	H	body	
2093	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print
2291	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANCA	H	body	slipware, cabled
2318	WTST2	2	2b	REW		body	
2322	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANCA	H	body	slipware, cabled
2328	WTST2	2	2b	REW		body	drilled
2334	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANMA		body	slipware, marbled
2340	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB	H	body	refit to #1896/#3473; banded slipware;bowl
2346	WTST2	2	2b	REW	H	body	banded
2348	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP green	H	lip	drilled; green transfer print; cup

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
2352	WTST2	2	2b	CEW	H	body	Spanish earthenware? Micaceous iron oxide on exterior
2354	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANCA	H	body	slipware, cabled; cup
2355	WTST2	2	2b	REW		body	drilled
2359	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB	H	lip	banded slipware; cup
2362	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB	H	lip	banded slipware
2364	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP blue	H	lip	drilled; blue transfer print; refit to #2386/#2051; cup
2366	WTST2	2	2b	REW		body	sponged
2367	WTST2	2	2b	CEW	H	body	red earthenware; lt. brown glaze
2369	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware
2376	WTST2	2	2b	CEW		body	
2377	WTST2	2	2b	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; bowl
2383	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANBMA		body	slipware, banded/marbled; screen
2385	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP blue		body	blue transfer print
2386	WTST2	2	2b	REW-TP blue	H	lip	blue transfer print; refit to #2364; cup
2388	WTST2	2	2b	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware; screen
2390	WTST2	2	2b	REW-YW		rim	drilled; Yellow ware
2530	WTST2	2	2c	REW		body	
2536	WTST2	2	2c	REW-TP blue	H	handle	blue transfer print; cup
2338	WTST2	2	S. wall cleanup	REW-ANBCA	H	body	banded slipware, cable; cup
3288	WTST2	2	S. wall cleanup	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware
3292	WTST2	2	S. wall cleanup	REW- poly	H	body	hand painted motif; polychrome
1374	WTST2	2	ss	REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print; cup
1484	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP blue	H	handle	blue transfer print; cup
1504	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TPFB		body	transfer print flow blue
1511	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP brown		body	brown transfer print; screen
1512	WTST2	3	2a	REW-ENGT		body	engine turned redware
1513	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP violet	H	lip	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; refit to #1956; cup
1519	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP brown	F	base	transfer print brown; "Copeland"; screen; plate

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
1523	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP blue	H	lip	blue transfer print; cup
1525	WTST2	3	2a	REW		rim	screen; blue banded
1709	WTST2	3	2a	REW	H	body	
1712	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP violet	H	body	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; cup
1717	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print brick
1724	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP brown	H	lip	brown transfer print; screen; cup
1726	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TPFB	H	lip	transfer print flow blue; cup
1730	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP turquoise	H	body	turquoise transfer print floral w/ figure; refit to #1679
1735	WTST2	3	2a	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
1737	WTST2	3	2a	REW	H	handle	refit to #1684; cup
1738	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TPFB	H	body	transfer print flow blue; cup
1746	WTST2	3	2a	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware; bowl
1747	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TPFB	H	lip	transfer print flow blue; cup
1751	WTST2	3	2a	REW	H	body	
1767	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP turquoise	H	body	turquoise transfer print floral w/ figure; screen
1769	WTST2	3	2a	REW		handle	teapot?
1924	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP brown	F	lip	transfer print, brown; "Copeland"; plate
1925	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP brown	F	base	transfer print brown; "Copeland"; refit to #1626; plate
1934	WTST2	3	2a	CEW		body	red earthenware
1938	WTST2	3	2a	REW	H	body	cup
1942	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print landscape; refit to #2138; cup
3459	WTST2	3	2a	REW-TP violet	H	body	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; screen; cup
3485	WTST2	3	2a	POR		body	screen; doll neck?
1951	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TPFB	H	lip	transfer print flow blue; cup
1954	WTST2	3	2b	CEW		body	red earthenware
1956	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP violet	H	lip	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; refit to #1513; cup
1975	WTST2	3	2b	REW-ANB	H	body	drilled; refit to #1975; banded slipware; screen
2000	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP violet	H	body	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; cup

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
2007	WTST2	3	2b	CEW		body	red earthenware; SW Quad
2015	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP blue	F	lip	blue transfer print; screen; plate
2117	WTST2	3	2b	REW	H	body	bowl
2124	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print brick
2126	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP turquoise	H	body	turquoise transfer print floral
2133	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TPFB		body	transfer print flow blue
2138	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP blue	H	base	blue transfer print landscape; refit to #1369; cup
2151	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print; cup
2152	WTST2	3	2b	REW		body	banded
2159	WTST2	3	2b	POR		rim	doll neck?
2174	WTST2	3	2b	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware
2177	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP violet	H	body	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; screen; cup
2183	WTST2	3	2b	REW-MOC	H	rim	banded brown mocha; cup
2185	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP violet	H	body	violet transfer print leaves and acorns; cup
2307	WTST2	3	2b	REW-SCSP	H	body	Scottish; refit to #1218; pink spongepainted
2308	WTST2	3	2b	REW-YW		body	Yellow ware
2309	WTST2	3	2b	REW-SCSP		body	Scottish pink spongepainted w/ green band
2310	WTST2	3	2b	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
2311	WTST2	3	2b	REW-ANCA	H	body	slipware, cabled; cup
2471	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP turquoise	H	body	turquoise transfer print floral w/ figure
2551	WTST2	3	2b	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware
2552	WTST2	3	2b	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware
2553	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TP blue	H	body	blue transfer print houses; cup
2554	WTST2	3	2b	REW		base	
3462	WTST2	3	2b	REW-TPFB		body	transfer print flow blue; screen
3463	WTST2	3	2b	REW-ANB	H	body	refit to #1975; banded slipware
2534	WTST2	3	2c	CEW		body	red earthenware
2583	WTST2	3	2c	REW		body	
2584	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	drilled; banded slipware; bowl
2585	WTST2	3	2c	REW-MOC	H	lip	banded slipware w/ mocha
2586	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
2587	WTST2	3	2c	REW-TP green	H	body	green transfer print; cup
2588	WTST2	3	2c	REW		lip	
2590	WTST2	3	2c	CEW		body	
2591	WTST2	3	2c	REW		body	
2592	WTST2	3	2c	REW-YW	H	body	Yellow ware, slipware white banded
2593	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANMA	H	body	slipware, marbled
2594	WTST2	3	2c	SW		base	
2595	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	lip	drilled; banded slipware; cup
2596	WTST2	3	2c	REW-TPFB		body	transfer print flow blue
2597	WTST2	3	2c	REW		body	
2598	WTST2	3	2c	REW		body	
2599	WTST2	3	2c	SW	H	body	wheel thrown; lt. Brown/pink glaze
2600	WTST2	3	2c	REW		base	
2601	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANBCA	H	body	banded slipware, cable; bowl
2602	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
2603	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware
2806	WTST2	3	2c	REW	H	handle	pitcher/teapot?
2807	WTST2	3	2c	REW	H	base	refit to #2874/#2831
2809	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	refit to #2841; banded slipware; bowl
2811	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANMA	H	body	slipware, marbled
2813	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware
2819	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
2824	WTST2	3	2c	REW		base	
2830	WTST2	3	2c	REW-TP blue	H	handle	blue transfer print; cup
2831	WTST2	3	2c	REW	H	base	refit to #2807/#2874
2833	WTST2	3	2c	REW-TP violet		body	violet transfer print
2837	WTST2	3	2c	REW	H	body	banded
2838	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANCA		body	slipware, cable
2839	WTST2	3	2c	CEW		body	
2841	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	drilled; refit to #2809; banded slipware; bowl
2844	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware
2850	WTST2	3	2c	REW		body	

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
2852	WTST2	3	2c	REW-TP green	H	lip	green transfer print; cup
2859	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	body	banded slipware; bowl
2863	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANMA	H	body	slipware, marbled
2867	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANMA		body	slipware, marbled
2868	WTST2	3	2c	CEW		body	red earthenware; corner frag; lt. brown glaze; tile?
2874	WTST2	3	2c	REW	H	base	refit to #2807/#2831
2879	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANMA		body	slipware, marbled
2880	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB	H	lip	banded slipware; cup
2881	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANCA	H	body	banded slipware, cable; cup
2882	WTST2	3	2c	REW		body	
2884	WTST2	3	2c	REW	H	lip	banded
2991	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANCA	H	body	slipware, cabled
3466	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANCA		body	slipware, cable; screen
3468	WTST2	3	2c	REW		lip	banded
3471	WTST2	3	2c	REW-ANB		body	banded slipware; screen
2973	WTST2	3	2d	REW		body	
2980	WTST2	3	2e	REW-mono	H	rim	blue hand painted motif
3003	WTST2	3	2e	CEW		body	red earthenware
3232	WTST2	3	2f	REW		body	
3318	WTST2	3	2f	REW	H	body	
3302	WTST2	3	S. wall cleanup	REW-ENGT	H	body	refit to #75; engine turned brown chequered; cup
1294	WTST2	3	ss	REW-TPFB		body	transfer print flow blue
1439	WTST2	3	ss	REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print brick; refit to 1 piece of #1663
1461	WTST2	3	ss	REW	H	lip	banded
1472	WTST2	3	ss	REW-TP brown	H	lip	brown transfer print brick; refit to #1663; screen
3536	WTST2	3		REW-TP brown	H	body	brown transfer print brick; found in bone bag
3295	WTST2	1S. Wall cleanup		SGS	H	body	salt-glazed stoneware; wheel thrown
1007	WTST2-test 2		2a	CEW	H	body	drilled; red earthenware; lt. brown glaze
1009	WTST2-test 2		2a	REW- mono	H	body	blue hand painted motif

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Type	H/F	Type	Notes
1090	WTST2-test 2		2b	REW		body	

Appendix 2: Ceramic inventories for contemporaneous Inuit sites

Site	Catalogue #	# of Fragments	Type	Vessel	Description
Tuglavina	460 a b c	3	REW	H -bowl	Creamware bowl frag w/ drill holes; "a" is the lip of the bowl
Tuglavina	349	2 refit	REW	H -bowl	Creamware bowl frag w/ drill holes; lip
Tuglavina	242	1	REW	H -bowl	Creamware bowl frag w/ drill holes; lip
Tuglavina	247	1	REW	H -bowl	transfer print scalloped edge bowl; charred and scuffed
Tuglavina	248	1	REW	H -bowl	Transfer print pink and red, bowl lip
Tuglavina	352,353,354	7 +	REW	F -plate	Shallow plate lip edge; burned w/ rust stains
Tuglavina	104	1	REW	H -cup	Hand painted teacup lip
Tuglavina	380	1	REW	H -bowl	Bowl lip; red line around rim; "hotelware?"
Tuglavina	379	1	REW		Body sherd
Tuglavina	378	1	REW		Body sherd
Tuglavina	149	10+	?	H -lid	Red bodied earthenware; stoneware? W/ irrid. Oxblood glaze; teapot lid
Tuglavina	150	1	?	H -lid	Red bodied earthenware; stoneware? W/ irrid. Oxblood glaze; teapot lid
Tuglavina	244	1	REW		Lustreware? Purple and blk ribbons; body sherd; lettered and designed
Tuglavina	351	4	REW	F -saucer	Blue floral transfer print;scalloped edge; saucer; burned
Tuglavina	193	1	REW	H	Blue; lip sherd
Tuglavina	190	1	REW	H -bowl	Line around lip; bowl
Tuglavina	224	1	REW	H -bowl	Stamped design; bowl lip
Tuglavina	214	1	REW	H -bowl	slipware, brown and blue banded; lip ; bowl
Tuglavina	316 (216?)	1	REW	H	slipware, brown banded; lip
Tuglavina	221	1	REW	H	slipware, brown banded; body sherd
Tuglavina	213	1	REW	H	slipware, brown banded and trailed; lip
Tuglavina	215	1	REW	H	slipware, brown banded with mocha; body sherd w/ drilled hole
Tuglavina	218	1	REW		slipware, brown banded and trailed; body sherd
Tuglavina	217	1	REW	H	Scottish spongepainted w/ green band at lip
Tuglavina	176	1	REW	H	Flow blue; body sherd
Tuglavina	225	1	REW	F -plate	Flow blue plate; refit to 226

Site	Catalogue #	# of Fragments	Type	Vessel	Description
Tuglavina	226	1	REW	F-plate	Flow blue plate; refit to 225
Tuglavina	170	1	REW	H	Flow blue
Tuglavina	876	1	REW	F -plate	Flow blue
Tuglavina	228	1	REW	H -bowl	body sherd
Tuglavina	227	1	REW	H -cup	blue and black sponged motif; lip
Tuglavina	245	2+	REW	H -bowl	Transfer print base sherd; drilled
Tuglavina	243	1	SGS	H	Salt glazed stoneware; wheel thrown; hand painted; body sherd
Tuglavina	166	1	REW	H	Lip sherd with hand painted; light orange paste
Tuglavina	212	1	REW		Green transfer print ; body sherd
Tuglavina	174	1	REW	H	Lip sherd; scalloped; charred
Tuglavina	222	1	REW	F -plate	Gold lustre line; base body sherd
Tuglavina	229	1	REW		Base sherd
Tuglavina	180	1	REW		Base sherd
Tuglavina	181	1	REW	H	creamware; base sherd
Tuglavina	223	1	REW	H	lip sherd;base sherd
Tuglavina	179	1	REW	H	slipware, marbled
Tuglavina	219	1	REW		Violet transfer print body sherd
Tuglavina	246	2	REW	F -saucer	saucer; scalloped edge; lustreware gold line and red edge; charred
Tuglavina	237	4+	REW	F -plate	Blue transfer print plate; incised mark: "COP..." w/ crown and "5"
Tuglavina	164	8+	REW	H -bowl	Yellow ware lip; drilled
Tuglavina	163	1	REW	H -bowl	Yellow ware lip; drilled
Tuglavina	168	1	REW	H	Yellow ware lip; drilled
Tuglavina	165	1	REW	H -bowl	Base sherd; bowl
Tuglavina	172	1	SGS	H	salt glazed stoneware; wheel thrown; clear glaze; body sherd
Tuglavina	201	1	SW	H	stoneware; wheel thrown; Derbyshire; base sherd
Tuglavina	211	20+	REW	F-plate	Pearlware? Flow blue transfer print; plate sherd; "COPE..."
Tuglavina	100	3	REW	F -plate	Pearlware? Blue transfer print; plate
Tuglavina	304	2	REW	H -bowl	Pink transfer print; body sherd; scratches inside
Tuglavina	307	1	REW		Violet transfer print body sherd
Tuglavina	344	2	REW	H -cup	Brown transfer print; lip

Site	Catalogue #	# of Fragments	Type	Vessel	Description
Tuglavina	147	1	REW	H	Blue transfer print; body sherd; drilled;
Tuglavina	308	1	REW	F -plate	Pearlware? Flow blue transfer print;body sherd
Tuglavina	323	1	REW		Body sherd
Tuglavina	290	1	REW	H -cup	Creamware body sherd
Tuglavina	120	1	REW	H	red banded; body sherd
Tuglavina	288	1	REW	H	slipware, blue banded with mocha; lip sherd
Tuglavina	284	1	REW		slipware, brown banded, marbled; body sherd
Tuglavina	106	2	REW	H	green banded body sherd
Tuglavina	285	2	REW	H	slipware, brown banded; body sherd
Tuglavina	287	1	REW	H	Yellow ware body sherd
Tuglavina	306	1	REW	H	Yellow ware body sherd
Tuglavina	145	1	REW		body sherd
Tuglavina	305	1	REW	H	Lip sherd w/ blue design
Tuglavina	282	1	REW		Body sherd w/ blue design
Tuglavina	283	1	SGS		salt glazed stoneware; body sherd; wheel thrown; light brown glaze
Tuglavina	159	4	REW	H -teapot	Teapot base 4 fragments; heavy craquelure brown glaze; burned
Tuglavina	153	1	REW	H -teapot	Teapot body sherd
Tuglavina	151	1	REW	H -teapot	Teapot body sherd
Tuglavina	156	2	REW	H -teapot	Teapot handle
					Tuglavina site: ~65 vessels represented; roughly 9 plates, 32 bowls, 13 cups, 2 saucers, 1 teapot
Ikkusik	76	2	REW		House 3; Pearlware ; base sherd; hand painted
Ikkusik	60	1	REW	H -bowl	House 5; base sherd
Ikkusik	102	1	REW	H	House 5; body sherd
Ikkusik	341	1	REW	H -bowl	House 5; lip sherd; bowl
Ikkusik	55	1	REW	H	House 5; slipware, brown banded
Ikkusik	51	1	REW	H	House 5; slipware, brown banded; lip sherd
Ikkusik	56	1	REW	H	House 5; slipware, cabled with roulette edge herringbone design
Ikkusik	132	1	REW	H	House 6; herringbone; drilled; cabled slipware body sherd

Site	Catalogue #	# of Fragments	Type	Vessel	Description
Ikkusik	62	1	SGS	H	House 7; salt glazed stoneware; light brown glaze; wheel thrown
Ikkusik	66	1	REW		House 7; slipware, blue and brown banded; body sherd
Ikkusik	61	1	REW		House 7; body sherd
Ikkusik	159	1	SGS	H	House 8; salt glazed stoneware; wheel thrown
Ikkusik	183	1	REW	H -bowl	House 8; base sherd; bowl
Ikkusik	277	2	REW	H	House 8; body sherd
Ikkusik	349		REW	H	House 17; Transfer print - red outside, green inside; body
Ikkusik	300	1	REW		House 8; slipware, brown banded; body
Ikkusik	286	1	REW		House 8; tinglazed lip sherd
					Ikkusik site: ~17 vessels represented; roughly 1 plate, 8 bowls, 6 cups
Komaktorvik 1	2003	1	REW		body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2004	1	REW		body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2115	1	REW		body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2022	1	REW		body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2013	1	REW		body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2115	1	REW		body sherd
					* 2003,2004,2013,2115,2022 same vessel
Komaktorvik 1	2054	1	REW	H -cup	lip sherd; cup
Komaktorvik 1	2034	1	REW	H	green glazed lip sherd; banded
Komaktorvik 1	1994	1	REW		Flow blue body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2050	1	REW		Blue design
Komaktorvik 1	36	2	REW	F -plate	Plate base; marked "Gordon Pattern" ; brown tp;"ENGLAND"
Komaktorvik 1	2135	1	REW	H	Yellow and white glaze w/ design; body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2113	1	REW	H -cup	Green banded; hand painted; lip sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2084	1	REW	H	slipware, brown banded with trailed slip greek-key motif; lip sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2106	1	REW	H	Base sherds
Komaktorvik 1	2105	1	REW	H	Base sherds

Site	Catalogue #	# of Fragments	Type	Vessel	Description
Komaktorvik 1	2104	1	REW	H	Base sherds
Komaktorvik 1	2107	1	REW	H	Base sherds
Komaktorvik 1	2103	1	REW	H	Base sherds
				H	*2103,2104,2105,2106,2107 same vessel/bowl
Komaktorvik 1	2112	1	REW	H	Base sherds; bowl
Komaktorvik 1	2085	1	REW	H	Orange banded body sherd; bowl
Komaktorvik 1	2030	1	REW	H	Pearlware base sherd; pink band; bowl
Komaktorvik 1	2051	1	REW	H	lip sherd; red banded; bowl
Komaktorvik 1	2018	2	REW	H	Pearlware base sherd; bowl
Komaktorvik 1	2026	1	REW	H	Base sherds; bowl? Cup?
Komaktorvik 1	2027	1	SW		Black basalt body sherd w/ molded design
Komaktorvik 1	2043	1	REW		Body sherd; bowl; red handpainted design
Komaktorvik 1	2039	1	REW		Body sherd; bowl; red handpainted design
					*2043,2039 same vessel
Komaktorvik 1	2033	1	REW		Red transfer print body frag; bowl? Plate?
Komaktorvik 1	2048	1	REW		Red transfer print body frag; bowl? Plate?
Komaktorvik 1	2025	1	REW		Red transfer print body frag; bowl? Plate?
					*2033,2048,2025 same vessel
Komaktorvik 1	2028	1	REW		Body sherd
Komaktorvik 1	2049	1	REW		Body sherd
					*2028,2049 same vessel
Komaktorvik 1	2017	1	REW		body sherd; different vessels; undetermined type
Komaktorvik 1	1989	1	REW		body sherd; different vessels; undetermined type
Komaktorvik 1	2024	1	REW		body sherd; different vessels; undetermined type
Komaktorvik 1	2044	1	REW		body sherd; different vessels; undetermined type
Komaktorvik 1	1986	1	REW		body sherd; different vessels; undetermined type

Site	Catalogue #	# of Fragments	Type	Vessel	Description
Komaktorvik 1	2133	1	REW		Test pit 2; House 2B - body sherd; plain
Komaktorvik 1	2134	1	REW		Test pit 2; House 2B - lip sherd; blue
					Komaktorvik 1 site: ~26 vessels represented; roughly 2 plate, 9 bowls, 6 cups

Appendix 3: Tobacco pipe inventory for Kongu

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
118	ET	1	2a		bowl frag
100	ET	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag
125	ET	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag
124	ET	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag
21	ET	1	ss		bowl frag
217	ET	3	2a	5	pipe stem frag
3535	ET	4	2a		bowl frag screen
1221	ET	4	2a	4	pipe stem frag/NW Quad screen
1807	ET	4	2b		pipe stem frag
1535	ET	4	2b	4	pipe stem frag
3108	ET	4	2e		pipe stem frag
1404	ET	5	1		bowl frag
2226	ET	5	2a		bowl frag
2195	ET	5	2a	4	pipe stem frag
2434	ET	5	2a	4	pipe stem frag
2192	ET	5	2a	4	pipe stem frag/SW Quad screen
2765	ET	5	2c	5	pipe stem frag
2695	ET	5	2c	4	pipe stem frag
3275	ET	5	2d	4	pipe stem/bowl frag;"VI?" marking
181	WT	1	2a		bowl frag
3458	WTST1-test 1		2a		bowl frag
995	WTST1-test 1		2a	4	pipe stem frag
3486	WTST1-test 1		2a	4	pipe stem frag
1343	WTST2	1	2a		bowl frag
1342	WTST2	1	2a		bowl frag screen
1323	WTST2	1	2a		bowl frag screen
1319	WTST2	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1350	WTST2	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
1335	WTST2	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1320	WTST2	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1321	WTST2	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1199	WTST2	1	2a	4	pipe stem frag; black inner core
2095	WTST2	1	2b		bowl frag screen
1880	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1651	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1656	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1874	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1662	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1873	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1877	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1866	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1881	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1902	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1657	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1665	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1636	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1879	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1850	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1649	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1878	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1661	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1643	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag
1785	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen
1857	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen
1789	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen
1784	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen
1865	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen
3479	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen
1781	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag screen

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
1778	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag; "...u(?)tton" incluse; screen
1911	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag; decorated
1667	WTST2	2	2a		bowl frag; decorated
1670	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
3506	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1884	WTST2	2	2a	5	pipe stem frag
1666	WTST2	2	2a	5	pipe stem frag
1672	WTST2	2	2a	5	pipe stem frag
1671	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1883	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1875	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1897	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1675	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1640	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1658	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1885	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1668	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag- mouthpice
1894	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag mouthpiece; bowl frag
1861	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1787	WTST2	2	2a	5	pipe stem frag screen
1690	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
3488	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1890	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1683	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag; "I" & "F" on spur
1669	WTST2	2	2a	4	pipe stem frag; bowl frags
2049	WTST2	2	2b		bowl frag
2084	WTST2	2	2b		bowl frag
2073	WTST2	2	2b		bowl frag
2363	WTST2	2	2b		bowl frag
2292	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2395	WTST2	2	2b	5	pipe stem frag

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
2345	WTST2	2	2b		pipe stem frag
2055	WTST2	2	2b		pipe stem frag
2054	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2389	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2339	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2075	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2326	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2325	WTST2	2	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2356	WTST2	2	2b	5	pipe stem frag SW Quad
2541	WTST2	2	2c	4	pipe stem frag
1705	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1696	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1773	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1496	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1517	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1483	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1714	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1741	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1704	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1529	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
3527	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1772	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
1506	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag
3516	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3517	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3524	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3525	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3526	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3519	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3520	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3521	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
3530	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3518	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3515	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3528	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3529	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3523	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
3522	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag screen
1931	WTST2	3	2a	4	bowl frag; "I" & "F" on spur
1476	WTST2	3	2a		bowl frag; decorated
1936	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
3482	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1697	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1505	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1701	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1939	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1750	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1497	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1940	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1933	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1749	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1493	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1488	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1920	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1718	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1492	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag
1522	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag mouthpiece
3532	WTST2	3	2a	5	pipe stem frag screen
3514	WTST2	3	2a		pipe stem frag screen
3531	WTST2	3	2a		pipe stem frag screen
3512	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
3533	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
3511	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
3510	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1770	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
3513	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag screen
1736	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag; "I" & "F" on spur
1929	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag; bowl frags
1734	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag; bowl frags
1728	WTST2	3	2a	4	pipe stem frag; part of bowl w/ spur
2118	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
2313	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
2120	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
1999	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
1979	WTST2	3	2B		bowl frag
2125	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
1969	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
2147	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag
3487	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3495	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3494	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3539	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3505	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3502	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3503	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3540	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
3501	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag screen
2003	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag; decorated
2005	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag; decorated
3493	WTST2	3	2b		bowl frag; spur fragment only;"I" & "F"; screen
3492	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2173	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2134	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
2130	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2556	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2187	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2175	WTST2	3	2b	5	pipe stem frag
1968	WTST2	3	2b		pipe stem frag
2131	WTST2	3	2b		pipe stem frag
2121	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2555	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2148	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2144	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2136	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2127	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2135	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
1962	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
3497	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2149	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag
2312	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag - mouthpiece
2557	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag- mouthpice
3496	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag screen
3491	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag screen
2176	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag screen
3499	WTST2	3	2b		pipe stem frag screen
3500	WTST2	3	2b		pipe stem frag screen
3489	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag screen
3490	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag screen
3498	WTST2	3	2b	4	pipe stem frag screen
2853	WTST2	3	2c		bowl frag
2812	WTST2	3	2c		bowl frag
3481	WTST2	3	2c		bowl frag screen
2605	WTST2	3	2c	5	pipe stem frag
2607	WTST2	3	2c	5	pipe stem frag

Catalogue #	Feature	Unit	Level	Bore /64"	Description
2982	WTST2	3	2c		pipe stem frag
2606	WTST2	3	2c	4	pipe stem frag
2608	WTST2	3	2c	4	pipe stem frag
2822	WTST2	3	2c	4	pipe stem frag screen
2967	WTST2	3	2d	4	pipe stem frag
2974	WTST2	3	2d	4	pipe stem frag; black inner core
3213	WTST2	3	2e	4	pipe stem frag earthenware
3314	WTST2	3	2f		bowl frag; decorated; "T(D?)" incluse mark
1462	WTST2	3	ss		bowl frag
1442	WTST2	3	ss		bowl frag
1296	WTST2	3	ss		bowl frag
1437	WTST2	3	ss		bowl frag
1453	WTST2	3	ss		bowl frag screen
1466	WTST2	3	ss	5	pipe stem frag
1455	WTST2	3	ss		pipe stem frag
1468	WTST2	3	ss	4	pipe stem frag
1456	WTST2	3	ss	4	pipe stem frag
1452	WTST2	3	ss	4	pipe stem frag
1464	WTST2	3	ss	4	pipe stem frag - mouthpiece
1436	WTST2	3	ss	4	pipe stem frag; part of bowl w/ spur
2167	WTST2- test 2			4	pipe stem frag grass east of U3
3507	WTST2-test 2		2a		bowl frag
1004	WTST2-test 2		2a	4	bowl frag; "I" & "F" on spur
3509	WTST2-test 2		2a	4	pipe stem frag
3508	WTST2-test 2		2a	4	pipe stem frag

Appendix 4: Tobacco pipe inventories for contemporaneous Inuit sites

Site	Catalogue #	Bore Diameter (/64")	Description
Tuglavina	119	5	Pipestem frag - "FIO..." "S? Ome" "Depose"
Tuglavina	231	5	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	230	4	Pipestem frag - Edinburgh "Mackenzie"
Tuglavina	332	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	302	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	234	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	187	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	182	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	189	5	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	281	5	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	188	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	301	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	232	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	289	4	Pipestem frag
Tuglavina	235	4	Pipestem frag - "Killarney"
Tuglavina	102		Pipe bowl frag
Tuglavina	233		Pipe bowl frag - "I" on left side of spur
Tuglavina	173		Pipe bowl frag
Tuglavina	107		Pipe bowl frag - incised decoration around bowl edge
Tuglavina	336		Pipe bowl frag
Tuglavina	184		Pipe bowl frag
Ikkusik	919	4	Pipe bowl frag "T" & "D" on spur - House 3
Ikkusik	68		Pipe bowl frag House 3
Ikkusik	34	6	Pipe stem frag House 3
Ikkusik	70	5	Pipe stem frag House 7
Ikkusik	71	4	Pipe stem frag House 7
Ikkusik	222	4	Pipe stem frag House 8

Site	Catalogue #	Bore Diameter (/64")	Description
Ikkusik	240	5	Pipe stem frag House 8
Ikkusik	287	4	Pipe stem frag House 8
Komaktorvik 1	2132	4	Pipe stem frag
Komaktorvik 1	1996	4	Pipe stem frag
Komaktorvik 1	??08	4	Pipe stem frag
Komaktorvik 1	1987	4	Pipe bowl frag 7 + fragments "I" "F" on spur

Appendix 5: Selected references from the Moravian Periodical Accounts

GENERAL INFORMATION 1790- ~1860:

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #	Comments
I	Okak Aug 14, 1790	48	3 Whales caught up North
	Hopedale Aug 23, 1792	155	No whales caught this season
	1794	255	Tuglavina wears a British officers uniform
	Hopedale Oct 10, 1794	258-259	Inuit described as "...libertine people..."
II	Hopedale Sept 18, 1797	138	The "Harmony" supply ship escapes the French
	Okak Sept 18, 1798	224	Inuit described as having "...indifference of heart"
III	Okak Sept 6, 1801	19	Five whales caught up North
IV	Okak Aug 16, 1803	245	Many whales and seals caught up north; northerners invite southerners
	Okak Sept 10, 1804	333	Northerners extend invite to share whaleflesh with southerners
VI	Nain, Sept 27, 1816	271	The "Jemima" supply ship cannot reach the Hopedale station
VII	Labrador 1819	25	Inuit skins, bone and oil are exported to England to fund missions
XI	Okak 1830	379	The practical use of tobacco smoke to thin mosquitos
	Nain, 1830	381	Donations from England are distributed - clothes and small articles
XII	Nain 1831	65	Note of Inuit housing style and ties to Greenland architecture
	Hopedale 1831	67	Southlanders, Europeans and natives are considered "thorn in our sides"
	Hebron 1832	256	Northerners are gratified with gifts of tobacco at Hebron
	Hebron 1832	256	Missionaries consider Satan to dwell in the northern region of Labrador
	Nain Aug 21, 1833	449	Nain missionaries consider Southlanders blasphemous and slanderous
	Hebron Sept 2, 1833	452	Missionaries note that the Inuit beg for "...tobacco, pipes and needles..."
XIII	1833	vi	To "...win souls..." is the objective of the Labrador missions
	Hebron 1832	105	Note that the Inuit promise conversion, but beg for tobacco and other trifles
XIV	Okak Aug 3, 1837	215	Noted as worst season of famine so far; no seals and Inuit consume dog flesh
	Hebron Aug 3, 1837	217	Famine and dire situation up north
	Hebron Aug 3, 1837	218	No oil means no lamps to burn; cold and hunger strike mission station
XV	Hopedale 1839	406	Mixture of tobacco and bear grease used to staunch wounds by Inuit
XVI	1841	10	4 missions hold a population of 1075 (384 are baptised communicants)

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #	
XVIII	Okak Aug 18, 1846	17	Exclusion of 6 members of congregation due to violations
	Hebron Aug 26, 1846	19	Exclusion of several members of congregation due to violations
XIX	Hebron 1849	131	Saglek listed as only a fishing spot - there are no more permanent inhabitants
	Hopedale July 22, 1850	426	Coffee, tea, sugar and treacle are imported by the Inuit from the Southlanders
XX	Nain Aug 29, 1851	121	Missionaries quote: "...cannot boast of any great results of our endeavors..."
	Hopedale 1851	282	Southern Inuit are seen as degenerate and as slaves to the Europeans
	Hopedale Dec 12 1850-51	285	There have now been several years without donations of goods to the stations
	Okak Aug 27, 1852	336	There is a lack of boots and other vital necessities at the Okak station
XXI	1853	7	The "Harmony" supply ship only reaches one station - Hopedale
	Labrador	xviii	Donations of clothes, stockings, honey, maps and atlases from English donors
XXII	Labrador 1856	100	Hopedale and Nain stations both have exclusions on account of violations
	Hopedale 1857	384	Brothers lament that flour, pork, tea and sugar are consumed by Inuit
XXIII	Hopedale Aug 15, 1859	234	Several exclusions of members due to violations
	Hebron Sept 23, 1859	24	10 exclusions of members due to violations
	Okak 1860	299	Several southern trading vessels frequent the waters of northern Labrador
	Hopedale Aug 1, 1860		Several exclusions of members due to violations
	Hebron Sept 1859-60	568	Donations of knives, scissors, needles , stockings, dolls, bags to congregation

VISITS FROM NORTH SPECIFICALLY RECORDED:

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #
I	Okak Aug 14, 1790	48
III	Okak Sept 8, 1802	113
	Okak Sept 10, 1804	334
	Okak Aug 16, 1805	447
IV	Okak Aug 18, 1806	79
	Okak Apr 25, 1805	126
	Hopedale Aug 6, 1806	268
	Nain Aug 21, 1806	278
	Okak Feb 22, 1806	287

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #	
	Okak Mar 13, 1806	289	
	Okak July 21-23, 30, 1806	292	
	Okak Aug 4, 1808	313	
VII	Okak Sept 4, 1819	160	
IX	Okak Aug 27, 1823	58	
X	Nain Aug 26, 1826	57	
	Okak 1826	66	
XI	Okak Aug 3, 1830	364	
XII	Okak Aug 15, 1831	59	Northerners "...prefer their own barbarous life..."
	Nain Aug 29, 1831	60	
	Hebron July 12, 1831	118	
	Okak Aug 22, 1832	253	
	Hebron Aug 22, 1832	255	
XIII	Hebron 1834	91	
	Hebron Dec 2, 1832	91	
	Hebron Aug 10, 1834	161	
	Hebron 1834	167	
	Hebron 1835	366	
XIV	Hebron Aug 19, 1836	16	Inuit request tobacco, pipes and needles for trade
	Hebron 1836	20	
	Hebron 1838	291	Northerners experience famine
	Okak Aug 21, 1838	423	
XV	Hebron Aug 29, 1839	110	
	Hebron 1839	116	
	Hebron 1840	305	
	Hebron Aug 26, 1840	316	
	Hebron Apr-Aug 1840	412	
XVI	Hebron Jan 10, 1840	409	Inuit from George River visit
	Hebron Aug 30, 1841	23	
	Hebron 1841	173-174	13 sledges of Inuit visit from the New Year until Easter
	Hebron Aug 25, 1843	452	

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #	
	Hebron 1843	528	
	Hebron Jan-June, 1844	216-416	
XVII	Hebron Feb 1845	415	65 Inuit visit from George River - a 10-day trip by sledge
	Okak 1846	81	
	Hebron 1847	232	Inuit visitors from northern regions and Ungava Bay
XVIII	Hebron 1847	384-385	50 + Inuit visitors from the Ungava region
	Hebron 1848	289	Inuit visitors from northern regions and Ungava Bay
XIX	Hebron 1848	9	81 Inuit from Saglek move to the Hebron station
	Hebron Aug 16, 1848	18	39 more move to Hebron
	Hebron Aug 30, 1849	225	Visit from Inuit of George River
	Hebron 1850	331	Inuit move to Hebron from "Kumaktorvik"
	Okak Aug 1850	431	Inuit visitors from Hudson's Straits region
	Hebron Auf 29, 1850	433	Inuit visitors from Ungava Bay and north - 130 visitors total
XX	Hebron Aug 26, 1951	127	Chief of Saglek and one of his wives become candidates for baptism
	Hebron Aug 26, 1851	129	
	Hebron Sept 23, 1852	337	50+ Inuit visitors from the north
XXI	Labrador 1855	452	Northerners population estimated at about 100 for 1855
XXII	Hebron Aug 31, 1856	109	14 Inuit from Ungava region stay at Hebron mission to escape northern famine
	Hebron 1856-57	316	
XXIII	Hebron 1859	86	
	Hebron Sept 23, 1859	242	
	Hebron Sept 1858-59	294	Inuit visitors from Ungava region and other northern locales
	Hebron Sept 1859-1860	568-569	50+ northern Inuit visitors to Hebron

NACHVAK REGION SPECIFICALLY REFERENCED:

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #	Comments
II	Okak Sept 18, 1798	225	Come with whale flesh to barter for goods
	Okak Sept 8, 1802	114	Several whales and many seals caught at Nachvak
IV	Okak May 11, 1805	127	Remark of good food and hunting available at Nachvak

Volume #	Station and Date	Page #	
	Okak Jan 24, 1806	287	Inuit move from Nachvak to Killinek region
	Okak Apr 29, 1806	290	Famine at Nachvak and the natives travel to Okak for powder and shot
VI	Okak Aug 12, 1813	50	Moravians contemplate a 4th station at Nachvak Fiord
	Okak Aug 5, 1815	343	Ungava Inuit winter at Nachvak Fiord
VIII	Okak Aug 20, 1822	271	Whale caught at Nachvak and Inuit go south to trade
X	Okak 1827	255	No whales at Nachvak due to mild winter
XI	Okak Sept 18, 1829	158	5 boats from Killinek and Saglek go to winter at Nachvak about 100 people
	Hebron July 26, 1830	373	Come to Hebron station from Nachvak and Saglek to procure guns
XII	Hebron Sept 13, 1830	116	boy - Arnapiak- abducted from Nachvak Fiord by unidentified vessel
XIII	Hebron Aug 6, 1835	362	6 Inuit from Nachvak move permanently to Hebron station
	Hebron 1835	365	Inuit visit from Nachvak with seal skins and blubber to barter
XV	Hebron 1839-40	380	Nachvak population estimates: 300 in ~1825, 0 in 1838, 1 family in 1839
XVII	Hebron 1841	98-99	Nachvak population estimate for 1841: 1 or 2 houses, 30 people in total
	Hebron Mar 1845	415	Inuit visit Hebron
XVIII	Okak Aug 18, 1846	16	1 young man from Nachvak Fiord visits station
	Hebron Aug 26, 1846	19	2 boats visit from Nachvak
	Hebron Jan 4, 1847	384	7 Inuit visit from Nachvak
	Hebron May 4, 1847	386	
	Hebron July 17, 1847	386	
XIX	Hebron 1849	131	2 Inuit families move to Nachvak Fiord from the Saglek region
	Hebron Aug 30, 1849	225	Inuit resist conversion but request "...an old pipe and some tobacco..."
	Hebron Aug 29, 1850		
	Hebron 1851	498	The estimated population at Nachvak is roughly 40 individuals
XX	Hebron Aug 26, 1851	129	
	Hebron Sept 23, 1852	337	Population at Nachvak listed as 3 families
XXII	Hebron 1856-57	316	
XXIII	Hebron 1860	300	"The people from Nachvak now oppose the truth the most..."

Appendix 6: "Draft of a letter to be given to every Eskimo going south to work 1783" (511. Reel 26: 38750-38753). Transcribed from cursive.

Our hearty salutations to all the Gentlemen into whos hands the following lines may come
The last spring 1782 some of our Esqumaux left us with an intention to go to the southward, and they came back to us again in October we were informed from them that they had been at Shatto [?] and amongst many other Gentlemen
Had become aquainted with a Gentleman whom they cald William, whom our Esqumaux praised very much for his kinship he had shown to them,
We sappose that it is well known of our settleing here in the year 1771 and the meaning of it, which indeed is no other but to bring the poor Esqumaux to the knowledge of God our Saviour & what he has done for them and all mankind
The undertaking indeed is very great, and our Dear Lord has given his blessing to itso that some Esqumaux are become believers of God, and bow the knee to him who died for them on the cross
Therefore we make bold to send a few lines with these Esqumaux to the information of all the Gentlemen into whos hands it may come and let you know a little of out thoughts about the Esqumaux as it is a matter that lies very much on our Hearts. It is a very hard thing to keep the Esqumaux together as they are used to wander from place to place and if we can't keep them together there is very little to be done with their Conversion, as it takes time to ground them in the Principles of Christianity. If sum goes from us and stays some time away from us, we find when they come back they have lost much off what they hav learn'd, They get among wild Esqumaux and have reason to fear that they fall into their heathenish customs again, whoreing, murdring and stealing,
And as the Esqumaux Indians was noted people for stealing and murdering, when we came to this country we ware stricktly charges from Government to keep the Esqumaux as much as possible from the South. And according to good advise it was also approved of to keep arms form them which indeed is (we think) very good, if they get guns they will run about all summer shooting & neglect their chief time they have togather in winter provision, and when they come home they will have very little to eat and as their chief dependance is what they get from the sea, and the summer is the time to get it in, for the winter they have little or nothing, they must then die off hunger, and perhaps bring us and the Europeans in danger of their lives, Hunger has no mercy, Therefore we would look upon it as a deed of humanity if all the Gentlemen upon this coste would consider our fears
Many Esqumaux has winter'd by us this last winter, ad they have suffer'd great hunger, on account of the scarcity of seals, and we believe many of them must have died of huger if we had not helped them through, But they have don us no harm neither have they stolen from us, But when they leave us, we cannot answar for their behaveiour, Therefore we would by all Gentlemen not to trust any of our babtised Esqumaux more then others, for sum of them not attending our advise have left that blessing which they have partaken of by Holy Babtisam & have turned back to their heathenish customs
Gentlemen your sincere well wishers the missionarys at Nain and in their names.

P.s. A lamentable circumstance has happened this last winter about 12 miles from us, upon the edge of a hill under which was a Esqumaux winter house where 31 Esqumaux lived. There gather'd a monstrous body of snow which shot all at once down & pressed the winter house even with the ground, with all the people in it excepting one man who was buried in the snow without, Out of 31 was only 9 got out alive. We have also heard from an Esqumaux winter place about 2 hundred miles to the North from us that the Esqumaux has murdered two of their chief men, the reason of their murdering amongst themselves is in general on account of their women